A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE TRYALS OF THE New-England Witches.

WITH THE

OBSERVATIONS

Of a Perſon who was upon the Place ſeveral Days when the ſuſpected Witches were firſt taken into Examination.

To which is added,

Cases of Conſcience

Concerning Witchcrafts and Evil Spirits Perſonating Men.

Written at the Requeſt of the Miniſters of *New-England.*

By *Increaſe Mather*, Preſident of *Harvard* Colledge.

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

London: Printed for J. Dunton, at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey* 1693. Of whom may be had the *Third Edition* of Mr. *Cotton Mather's First Account* of the Tryals of the *New-England* Witches, Printed on the ſame ſize with this *Laſt Account*, that they may bind up together.

Advertisement.

THere is now preparing for the Preſs, An *APPENDIX* to this Work, giving an Account of the *late Diſpoſſeſſing* of a Perſon in *England* by Faſting and Prayer. Printed by the Conſent of the Miniſter chiefly concern'd. With a Preface to it by a Reverend Divine living in *London*. Printed for *John Dunton*, at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey*.

A True Narrative of ſome Remarkable Paſſages relating to ſundry Perſons afflicted by *Witchcraft* at *Salem* Village in *New-England*, which happened from the *19th.* of *March* to the *5th.* of *April*, 1692.

Collected by *Deodat Lawſon.*

ON the Nineteenth day of *March* laſt I went to *Salem* Village, and lodged at *Nathaniel Ingerſol*'s near to the Miniſter Mr. *P*'s. Houſe, and preſently after I came into my Lodging, Capt. *Walcut*'s Daughter *Mary* came to Lieut. *Ingerſol*'s and ſpake to me; but ſuddenly after, as ſhe ſtood by the Door, was bitten, ſo that ſhe eryed out of her Wriſt, and looking on it with a Candle, we ſaw appatently the marks of *Teeth*, both upper and lower ſet, on each ſide of her Wriſt.

In the beginning of the Evening I went to give Mr. *P.* a Viſit. When I was there, his Kinſwoman, *Abigail Williams*, (about 12 Years of Age) had a grievous fit; ſhe was at firſt hurried with violence to and fro in the Room (though Mrs. *Ingerſol* endeavoured to hold her) ſometimes making as if ſhe would fly, ſtretching up her Arms as high as ſhe could, and crying, *Whiſh, Whiſh, Whiſh*, ſeveral times; preſently after ſhe ſaid, there was Goodw. *N.* and ſaid, *Do you not ſee her? Why there ſhe ſtands!* And ſhe ſaid, Goodw. *N.* offered her *THE BOOK*, but ſhe was reſolved ſhe would not take it, ſaying often, *I wont, I wont, I wont take it, I do not know what Book it is: I am ſure it is none of God's Book, it is the Devil's Book for ought I know.* After that, ſhe run to the Fire, and begun to throw Firebrands about the Houſe, and run againſt the Back, as if ſhe would run up Chimney, and, as they ſaid, ſhe had attempted to go into the Fire in other Fits.

On Lords Day, the Twentieth of *March*, there were ſundry of the afflicted Perſons at Meeting, as, Mrs. *Pope*, and Goodwife *Bibber*, *Abigail Williams*, *Mary Walcut*, *Mary Lewes*, and Doctor *Grigg's* Maid. There was alſo at Meeting, Goodwife *C.* (who was afterward Examined on ſuſpicion of being a *Witch:*) They had ſeveral ſore Fits in the time of Publick Worſhip, which did ſomething interrupt me in my firſt Prayer, being ſo unuſual. After *Pſalm* was ſung, *Abigail Williams* ſaid to me, *Now ſtand up, and name your Text!* And after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *It is a long Text.* In the beginning of Sermon, Mrs. *Pope*, a Woman afflicted, ſaid to me, *Now there is enough of that.* And in the Afternoon, *Abigail Williams*, upon my referring to my *Doctrine*, ſaid to me, *I know no Doctrine you had, If you did name one, I have forgot it.*

In Sermon time, when Goodwife *C.* was preſent in the Meeting-Houſe, *Ab. W.* called out, *Look where Goodwife C. ſits on the Beam ſuckling her Yellow Bird betwixt her fingers! Ann Putman*, another Girle afflicted, ſaid, *There was a Yellow Bird ſat on my Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit*; but thoſe that were by, reſtrained her from ſpeaking loud about it.

On *Monday* the 21*ſt.* of *March*, the Magiſtrates of *Salem* appointed to come to Examination of Goodwife *C.* And about Twelve of the Clock they went into the Meeting-Houſe, which was thronged with Spectators. Mr. *Noyes* began with a very pertinent and pathetical *Prayer*; and Goodwife *C.* being called to anſwer to what was alledged againſt her, ſhe deſired to go to *Prayer*, which was much wondred at, in the preſence of ſo many hundred People: The Magiſtrates told her, they would not admit it; they came not there to hear her Pray, but to Examine her, in what was Alledged againſt her. The Worſhipful Mr. *Hathorne* asked her, *Why ſhe afflicted thoſe Children?* She ſaid, ſhe did not Afflict them. He asked her, who did then? She ſaid, *I do not know*; *How ſhould I know?* The Number of the Afflicted Perſons were about that time Ten, *viz.* Four Married Women, Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, Goodwife *Bibber*, and an Ancient Woman, named *Goodall*; three Maids, *Mary Walcut*, *Mercy Lewes*, at *Thomas* Putman's, and a Maid at Dr. *Griggs's*; there were three Girls from 9 to 12 Years of Age, each of them, or thereabouts, *viz.* *Elizabeth Parris*, *Abigail Williams*, and *Ann Putman*; theſe were moſt of them at Goodwife *C's.* Examination, and did vehemently

Accuſe

Accuſe her in the Aſſembly of Afflicting them, by *Biting*, *Pinching*, *Strangling*, *&c.* And that they did in their Fits ſee her Likeneſs coming to them, and bringing a *Book* to them; ſhe ſaid, ſhe had no *Book*; they affirmed, ſhe had a *Yellow Bird*, that uſed to ſuck betwixt her Fingers, and being asked about it, if ſhe had any *Familiar Spirit*, that attended her? ſhe ſaid, *She had no Familiarity with any ſuch thing.* She was a *Goſpel Woman:* Which Title ſhe called her ſelf by; and the Afflicted Perſons told her, Ah! ſhe was *A Goſpel Witch.* *Ann Putman* did there affirm, that one day when Lieutenant *Fuller* was at Prayer at her Father's Houſe, ſhe ſaw the ſhape of Goodwife *C.* and ſhe thought Goodwife *N.* Praying at the ſame time to the Devil; ſhe was not ſure it was Goodwife *N.* ſhe thought it was; but very ſure ſhe ſaw the ſhape of Goodwife *C.* The ſaid *C.* ſaid, they were poor diſtracted Children, and no heed to be given to what they ſaid. Mr. *Hathorne* and Mr. *Noyes* replyed, It was the Judgment of all that were preſent, they were *Bewitched*, and only ſhe the Accuſed Perſon ſaid, they were *Diſtracted.* It was obſerved ſeveral times, that if ſhe did but bite her under lip in time of Examination, the Perſons afflicted were bitten on their Arms and Wriſts, and produced the *Marks* before the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and others. And being watched for that, if ſhe did but *Pinch* her Fingers, or *Graſp* one Hand hard in another, they were Pinched, and produced the *Marks* before the Magiſtrates, and Spectators. After that, it was obſerved, that if ſhe did but lean her *Breaſt* againſt the Seat in the Meeting-Houſe, (being the *Bar* at which ſhe ſtood) they were afflicted. Particularly Mrs. *Pope* complained of grievous Torment in her *Bowels*, as if they were torn out. She vehemently accuſed the ſaid *C.* as the Inſtrument, and firſt threw her Muff at her; but that flying not home, ſhe got off her *Shoe*, and hit Goodwife *C.* on the Head with it. After theſe Poſtures were watched, if the ſaid *C.* did but ſtir her Feet, they were afflicted in their *Feet*, and ſtamped fearfully. The afflicted Perſons asked her, why ſhe did not go to the Company of Witches which were before the Meeting-Houſe Muſtering? Did ſhe not hear the *Drum* beat? They accuſed her of having Familiarity with the *Devil*, in the time of Examination, in the ſhape of a Black *Man* whiſpering in her Ear; they affirmed, that her *Yellow Bird* ſucked betwixt her Fingers in the Aſſembly; and Order being given to ſee

if there were any ſign, the Girl that ſaw it, ſaid, it was too late now; ſhe had removed a *Pin*, and put it on her *Head*; which was found *there* ſticking upright.

They told her, ſhe had Covenanted with the *Devil* for ten Years, ſix of them were gone, and four more to come. She was required by the Magiſtrates to anſwer that Queſtion in the Catechiſm, *How many perſons be there in the God-head?* She anſwered it but oddly, yet was there no great thing to be gathered from it; ſhe denied all that was charged upon her, and ſaid, *They could not prove a Witch*; ſhe was that Afternoon Committed to *Salem*-Priſon; and after ſhe was in Cuſtody, ſhe did not ſo appear to them, and afflict them as before.

On Wedneſday the 23*d.* of *March*, I went to *Thomas Putman's*, on purpoſe to ſee his Wife: I found her lying on the Bed, having had a ſore Fit a little before; ſhe ſpake to me, and ſaid, ſhe was glad to ſee me; her Husband and ſhe both deſired me to Pray with her while ſhe was ſenſible; which I did, though the Apparition ſaid, *I ſhould not go to Prayer.* At the firſt beginning ſhe attended; but after a little time, was taken with a Fit; yet continued ſilent, and ſeemed to be *Aſleep:* When Prayer was done, her Husband going to her, found her in a *Fit*; he took her off the Bed, to ſet her on his Knees, but at firſt ſhe was ſo ſtiff, ſhe could not be bended; but ſhe afterwards ſat down, but quickly began to ſtrive violently with her *Arms* and *Leggs*; ſhe then began to Complain of, and as it were to Converſe Perſonally with, Goodwife *N.* ſaying, *Goodwife* N. *Be gone! Be gone! Be gone! are you not aſhamed, a Woman of your Profeſſion, to afflict a poor Creature ſo? What hurt did I ever do you in my life? You have but two Years to live, and then the Devil will torment your Soul; for this your Name is blotted out of God's Book, and it ſhall never be put in God's Book again; be gone for ſhame, are you not afraid of that which is coming upon you? I know, I know what will make you afraid; the wrath of an Angry God, I am ſure that will make you afraid; be gone, do not torment me, I know what you would have* (we judged ſhe meant, *her Soul*) *but it is out of your reach; it is cloathed with the white Robes of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs.* After this, ſhe ſeemed to diſpute with the Apparition about a particular *Text* of Scripture. The Apparition ſeemed to deny it; (the Womans Eyes being faſt cloſed all this time) ſhe ſaid, *She was ſure there was ſuch a Text,*

and

and ſhe would tell it; and then the Shape would be gone, for, ſaid ſhe, *I am ſure you cannot ſtand before that Text!* Then ſhe was ſorely Afflicted, her Mouth drawn on one ſide, and her Body ſtrained for about a Minute, and then ſaid, *I will tell, I will tell; it is, it is, it is,* three or four times, and then was afflicted to hinder her from telling, at laſt ſhe broke forth, and ſaid, *It is the third Chapter of the Revelations.* I did ſomething ſcruple the reading it, and did let my ſcruple appear, leſt Satan ſhould make any Superſtitiouſly to improve the Word of the Eternal God. However, tho' not verſed in theſe things, I judged I might do it this once for an Experiment. I began to *read,* and before I had near read through the firſt Verſe, ſhe opened her Eyes, and was well; this Fit continued near half an hour. Her Husband and the Spectators told me, ſhe had often been ſo relieved by reading Texts that ſhe named, ſomething pertinent to her Caſe; as *Iſa.*40. 1. *Iſa.* 49. 1. *Iſa.* 50. 1. and ſeveral others.

On Thurſday the Twenty Fourth of *March,* (being in courſe the Lecture-Day at the Village) Goodwife *N.* was brought before the Magiſtrates Mr. *Hathorne* and Mr. *Corwin,* about Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, to be Examined in the Meeting-Houſe, the Reverend Mr. *Hale* begun with Prayer, and the Warrant being read, ſhe was required to give Anſwer, *Why ſhe afflicted thoſe perſons?* She pleaded her own Innocency with earneſtneſs. *Thomas Putman's* Wife, *Abigail Williams,* and *Thomas Putman's* Daughter accuſed her that ſhe appeared to them, and afflicted them in their Fits: but ſome of the others ſaid, that they had ſeen her, but knew not that ever ſhe had hurt them; amongſt which was *Mary Walcut,* who was preſently after ſhe had ſo declared bitten, and cryed out of her in the Meeting-Houſe, producing the *Marks* of *Teeth* on her wriſt. It was ſo diſpoſed, that I had not leiſure to attend the whole time of Examination, but both Magiſtrates and Miniſters told me, that the things alledged by the afflicted, and defences made by her, were much after the ſame manner as the former was. And her motions did produce like effects, as to *Biting, Pinching, Bruſing, Tormenting,* at their *Breaſts,* by her *Leaning,* and when bended back, were as if their Backs were broken. The afflicted Perſons ſaid, the *Black Man* whiſpered to her in the Aſſembly, and therefore ſhe could not hear what the Magiſtrates ſaid unto her. They ſaid alſo, that ſhe did then ride by the Meeting-Houſe, behind the *Black Man. Thomas Putman's* Wife had a grievous Fit in the time of Examination, to

the very great impairing of her ſtrength, and waſting of her ſpirits, inſomuch as ſhe could hardly move hand or foot when ſhe was carried out. Others alſo were there grievouſly afflicted, ſo that there was once ſuch an hideous ſcriecth and noiſe (which I heard as I walked at a little diſtance from the Meeting-Houſe) as did amaze me, and ſome that were within, told me the whole Aſſembly was ſtruck with Conſternation, and they were afraid, that thoſe that ſate next to them were under the Influence of *Witchcraft*. This Woman alſo was that day committed to *Salem* Priſon. The Magiſtrates and Miniſters alſo did inform me, that they apprehended a Child of *Sarah G.* and examined it, being between 4 and 5 years of Age. And as to matter of Fact, they did unanimouſly affirm, that when this *Child* did but caſt its Eye upon the afflicted Perſons, they were tormented; and they held her *Head*, and yet ſo many as her *Eye* cold fix upon were afflicted. Which they did ſeveral times make careful Obſervation of: The afflicted complained, they had often been *Bitten* by this Child, and produced the marks of *a ſmall ſet of teeth* accordingly; this was alſo committed to *Salem* Priſon, the Child looked *hail, and well* as other Children. I ſaw it at Lieut. *Ingerſol's*. After the Commitment of Goodw. *N. Tho. Putman's* Wife was much better, and had no violent Fits at all from that 24*th.* of *March*, to the 5*th.* of *April*. Some others alſo ſaid they had not ſeen her ſo frequently appear to them, to hurt them.

On the 25*th.* of *March* (as Capt. *Stephen Sewal* of *Salem* did afterwards inform me) *Eliz. Paris* had ſore Fits at his Houſe, which much troubled *himſelf, and his Wife*, ſo as he told me they were almoſt diſcouraged. She related, that the great *Black Man* came to her, and told her, if ſhe would be ruled by him, ſhe ſhould have whatſoever ſhe deſired, and go to a *Golden City*. She relating this to Mrs. *Sewal*, ſhe told the Child, it was the *Devil*, and he was a *Lyar from the Beginning*, and bid her tell him ſo, if he came again: which ſhe did accordingly, at the next coming to her, in her Fits.

On the 26*th.* of *March*, Mr. *Hathorne*, Mr. *Corwin*, and Mr. *Higiſon*, were at the Priſon-Keeper's Houſe to Examine the Child, and it told them there, it had a little *Snake* that uſed to ſuck on the loweſt Joynt of its Fore-Finger; and when they enquired where, pointing to other places, it told them, not there, but *there*, pointing on the loweſt Joint of the Fore-Finger, where they obſerved a deep Red Spot, about the bigneſs of a *Flea-bite*; they asked who gave it that *Snake?* whether the great Black Man? It ſaid no, its Mother gave it.

The

The 31 of *March* there was a *Publick Faſt* kept at *Salem* on account of theſe Afflicted Perſons. And *Abigal Williams* ſaid, that the Witches had a *Sacrament* that day at an houſe in the Village, and that they had *Red Bread* and *Red Drink*. The firſt of *April*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Thomas Putman's* Maid, in her Fit, ſaid, they did eat *Red Bread*, like *Man's Fleſh*, and would have had her eat ſome; but ſhe would not; but turned away her head, and ſpit at them, and ſaid, *I will not Eat*, *I will not Drink*, *it is Blood*, &c. ſhe ſaid, *That is not the Bread of Life*; *that is not the Water of Life*; *Chriſt gives the Bread of Life*; *I will have none of it*! The firſt of *April* alſo *Marcy Lewis* aforeſaid ſaw in her Fit a *White Man*, and was with him in a glorious Place, which had no *Candles* nor *Sun*, yet was full of Light and *Brightneſs*; where was a great Multitude in White glittering Robes, and they Sung the Song in the fifth of *Revelation*, the 9th verſe, and the 110 *Pſalm* and the 149 *Pſalm*; and ſaid with her ſelf, *How long ſhall I ſtay here! let me be along with you*: She was loth to leave this place, and grieved that ſhe could tarry no longer. This *white Man* hath appeared ſeveral times to ſome of them, and given them notice how long it ſhould be before they had another Fit, which was ſometimes a day, or day and half, or more or leſs, it hath fallen out accordingly.

The 3d of *April*, the Lord's-day, being Sacrament-day, at the Village, *Goodw. C.* upon Mr. *Parris's* naming his Text, *John* 6, 70. *One of them is a Devil*, the ſaid *Goodw. C.* went immediately out of the Meeting-Houſe, and flung the Door after her violently, to the amazement of the Congregation: She was afterward ſeen by ſome in their Fits, who ſaid, *O* Goodw. C. *I did not think to ſee you here*! (and being at their *Red bread and drink*) ſaid to her, *Is this a time to receive the Sacrament, you ran-away on the Lord's Day, and ſcorned to receive it in the Meeting-Houſe, and, Is this a time to receive it? I wonder at you*! This is the ſum of what I either ſaw my ſelf, or did receive Information from perſons of undoubted Reputation and Credit.

Remarks of things more than ordinary about the Afflicted Perſons.

1. They are in their Fits tempted to be *Witches*, are ſhewed the Liſt of the Names of others, and are tortured, becauſe they will not yeild to Subſcribe, or meddle with, or touch the BOOK, and are promiſed to have preſent Relief if they would do it.

2. They did in the Assembly mutually *Cure* each other, even with a *Touch* of their Hand, when Strangled, and otherwise Tortured; and would endeavour to get to their Afflicted, to relieve them.

3. They did also foretel when anothers Fit was a-coming, and would say, *Look to her!* she will have a Fit presently, which fell out accordingly, as many can bear witness, that heard and saw it.

4. That at the same time, when the *Accused* Person was present, the *Afflicted Persons* saw her Likeness in other places of the Meeting-House, suckling her *Familiar*, sometimes in one place and posture, and sometimes in another.

5. That their Motions in their Fits are *Preternatural*, both as to the manner which is so strange as a well person could not Screw their Body into; & as to the violence also it is preternatural being much beyond the Ordinary force of the same person when they are in their right mind.

6. The *eyes* of some of them in their fits are exceeding fast closed, and if you ask a question they can give no answer, and I do believe they cannot hear at that time, yet do they plainely converse with the Appearances, as if they did discourse with real persons.

7 They are utterly pressed against any persons *Praying* with them, and told by the appearances, they shall not go to *Prayer*, so *Tho. Putmans* wife was told, *I should not Pray*; but she said, *I should*: and after I had done, reasoned with the *Appearance*, *Did not I say he should go to Prayer.*

8 The forementioned *Mary W.* being a little better at ease, the Afflicted persons said, *she had signed the Book*; and that was the reason she was better. Told me by *Edward Putman.*

Remarks concerning the *Accused.*

1 For introduction to the discovery of those that afflicted them It is reported Mr. *Parris's* Indian Man, and Woman, made a Cake of *Rye Meal*, and the Childrens water, baked it in the Ashes, and gave it to a Dog, since which they have discovered, and seen particular persons hurting of them.

2 In Time of Examination they seemed little affected, though all the Spectators were much grieved to see it.

3 *Natural* Actions in them produced *Preternatural* actions in the Afflicted, so that they ate their own *Image* without any *Poppits* of Wax or otherwise.

4. That

4. That they are accuſed to have a Company about 23 or 24 and they did *Muſter in Armes*, as it ſeemed to the Afflicted Perſons.

5. Since they were confined, the Perſons have not been ſo much Afflicted with their appearing to them, *Biteing* or *Pinching* of them &c.

6. They are reported by the Afflicted Perſons to keep dayes of *Faſt* and dayes of *Thanksgiving*, and *Sacraments*; Satan endeavours to Transforme himſelf to an *Angel of Light*, and to make his Kingdom and Adminiſtrations to reſemble thoſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

7. Satan Rages Principally amongſt the Viſible Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom and makes uſe (at leaſt in appearance) of ſome of them to Afflict others; that *Chriſt's Kingdom may be divided againſt it ſelf*, and ſo be weakened.

8. Several things uſed in *England* at Tryal of Witches, to the Number of 14 or 15 which are wont to paſs inſtead of, or in Concurrence with *Witneſſes*, at leaſt 6 or 7 of them are found in theſe accuſed: ſee *Keebles Statutes*.

9. Some of the moſt ſolid Afflicted Perſons do affirme the ſame things concerning *ſeeing* the accuſed *out* of their Fitts as well as *in* them.

10. The Witches had a *Faſt*, and told one of the Afflicted Girles, ſhe muſt not *Eat*, becauſe it was *Faſt Day*, ſhe ſaid, ſhe *would*: they told her they would *Choake* her then; which when ſhe did eat, was endeavoured.

A Further Account of the Tryals of the New-England Witches, *ſent in a Letter from thence, to a Gentleman in* London.

HEre were in *Salem, June* 10. 1692. about 40 perſons that were afflicted with horrible torments by *Evil Spirits*, and the afflicted have accuſed 60 or 70 as Witches, for that they have *Spectral appearances* of them, tho the Perſons are abſent when they are tormented. When theſe Witches were Tryed, ſeveral of them confeſſed a contract with the Devil, by ſigning his Book, and did expreſs much ſorrow for the ſame, declareing alſo thir *Confederate Witches*, and ſaid the Tempters of them deſired 'em to ſign the *Devils Book*, who tormented them till they did it. There were at the time of *Examination*, before many hundreds of Witneſſes, ſtrange Pranks play'd; ſuch as the taking Pins out of the Clothes of the afflicted, and thruſting them into their fleſh; many of which were taken out again by the *Judges* own hands. Thorns alſo in like kind were thruſt into their fleſh; the accuſers were ſometimes *ſtruck dumb, deaf, blind*, and ſometimes lay as if they were dead for a while, and all foreſeen and declared

red by the afflicted just before 'twas done. Of the afflicted there were two Girls, about 12 or 13 *years of age*, who saw all that was done, and were therefore called the *Visionary Girls*; they would say, *Now he, or she, or they, are going to bite*, or *pinch the Indian*; and all there present in Court saw the visible marks on the *Indians* arms; they would also cry out, *Now look, look, they are going to bind such an ones Legs*, and all present saw the same person spoken of, fall with her Legs twisted in an extraordinary manner; Now say they, we shall all fall, and immediately 7 or 8 of the afflicted fell down, with *terrible shrieks and Out-crys*: at the time when one of the Witches was *sentenc'd, and pinnion'd* with a Cord, at the same time was the afflicted *Indian* Servant going home, (being about 2 or 3 miles out of town,) and had both his Wrists at the same instant bound about with a like Cord, in the same manner as she was when she was sentenc'd, but with that violence, that the Cord entred into his flesh, not to be untied, nor hardly cut——Many *Murders* are suppos'd to be in this way committed; for these Girls, and others of the afflicted, say, *they see Coffins, and bodies in Shrowds*, rising up, and looking on the accused, crying, *Vengeance. Vengeance on the Murderers*—— Many other strange things were transacted before the Court in the time of their Examination; and especially one thing which I had like to have forgot, which is this, One of the accus'd, whilst the rest were under Examination, was drawn up by a Rope to the Roof of the house where he was, and would have been choak'd in all probability, had not the Rope been presently cut; the Rope hung at the Roof by some *invisible tye*. for there was no hole where it went up; but after it was cut the *remainder* of it was found in the Chamber just above, lying by the very place where it hung down.

In *December* 1692, the Court sate again at *Salem* in *New-England*, and cleared about 40 persons suspected for Witches, and Condemned three. The Evidence against these three was the same as formerly, so the Warrant for their Execution was sent, and the *Graves digged* for the said three, and for about five more that had been Condemned at *Salem* formerly, but were Repreived by the Governour.

In the beginning of *February* 1693. the Court sate at *Charles-Town*, where the Judge exprest himself to this effect.

That who it was that obstructed the Execution of Justice, or hindred those good proceedings they had made, he knew not, but thereby the Kingdom of Satan was advanc'd, &c *and the Lord have mercy on this Country*; and so declined coming any more into Court. In his absence *Mr. D*—— sate as Chief Judge 3 several days, in which time 5 or 6 were clear'd by Proclamation, and almost as many by Trial; so that all are acquitted.

The most remarkable was an Old Woman named *Dayton*, of whom it was said, *If any in the World were a Witch, she was one, and had been so accounted* 30 *years*. I had the Curiosity to see her tried; she was a decrepid Woman of about 80 years of age, and did not use many words in her own defence. She was accused by about 30 Witnesses; but the matter alledged against her was such as needed little apology, on her part not one passionate word, or immoral action, or evil, was then objected against her for 20 years past, only strange accidents falling out, after some Christian admonition given by her, as saying, *God would not prosper them, if they wrong'd the Widow*. Upon the whole, there was not prov'd against her any thing worthy of Reproof, or just admonition, much less so heinous a Charge.

So that by the *Goodness* of God we are once more out of present danger of this *Hobgoblin Monster*; the standing Evidence used at *Salem* were called. but did not appear.

There were others also at *Charles-town* brought upon their *Tryals*, who had formerly confess'd themselves to be Witches; but upon their tryals deny'd it, and were all clear'd; So that at present there is no *further prosecution of any*.

Cases

CASES of CONSCIENCE

Concerning

Evil Spirits

Perſonating MEN;

WITCHCRAFTS,

Infallible Proofs of Guilt in ſuch as are Accuſed with that CRIME.

All Conſidered according to the Scriptures, Hiſtory, Experience, and the Judgment of many Learned MEN.

By *Increaſe Mather*, Preſident of *Harvard* Colledge at *Cambridge*, and Teacher of a Church at *Boſton* in *New England*

PROV. xxii. xxi.

——*That thou mighteſt Anſwer the Words of Truth, to them that ſend unto thee.*

Efficiunt Dæmones, ut quæ non ſunt, ſic tamen, quaſi ſint, conſpicienda hominibus exhibeant. Lactantius Lib. 2. *Inſtit.* Cap. 15. *Diabolus Conſulitur, cum iis mediis utimur aliquid Cognoſcendi, quæ a Diabolo ſunt introducta. Ames Caſ. Conſ.* L. 4. Cap. 23.

Printed at *Boſton*, and Re-printed at *London*, for John Dunton, at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey*. 1693.

Plates

SO *Odious and Abominable is the Name of a Witch, to the Civilized, much more the Religious part of Mankind, that it is apt to grow up into a Scandal for any, ſo much as to enter ſome ſober cautions againſt the over haſty ſuſpecting, or too precipitant Judging of Perſons on this account. But certainly, the more execrable the Crime is, the more critical care is to be uſed in the expoſing of the Names, Liberties, and Lives of Men (eſpecially of a Godly Converſation) to the imputation of it. The awful hand of God now upon us, in letting looſe of evil Angels among us to perpretate ſuch horrid Miſchiefs, and ſuffering of Hell's Inſtruments to do ſuch fearful things as have been ſcarce heard of; hath put ſerious perſons into deep Muſings, and upon curious Enquiries what is to be done for the detecting and defeating of this tremendous deſign of the grand Adverſary: And, tho' all that fear God are agreed,* That no evil is to be done, that good may come of it; *yet hath the Devil obtained not a little of his deſign, in the diviſions of Reuben, about the application of this Rule.*

That there are Devils and Witches, the Scripture aſſerts, and experience confirms, That they are common enemies of Mankind, and ſet upon miſchief, is not to be doubted: That the Devil can (by Divine Permiſſion) and often doth vex men in Body and Eſtate, without the Inſtrumentality of Witches, is undeniable: That he often hath, and delights to have the concurrence of Witches, and their conſent in harming men, is conſonant to his native Malice to Man, and too lamentably exemplified: That Witches, when detected and convinced, ought to be exterminated and cut off, we have God's warrant for, Exod. 22. 18. *Only the ſame God who hath ſaid,* thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live; *hath alſo ſaid,* at the Mouth of two Witneſſes, or three Witneſſes ſhall he that is worthy of Death, be put to Death: But at the Mouth of one Witneſs, he ſhall not be put to Death, *Deut.* 17. 6. *Much debate is made about* what is *ſufficient Conviction, and ſome have (in their Zeal) ſuppoſed that a leſs clear evidence ought to paſs in this than in other Caſes, ſuppoſing that elſe it will be hard (if poſſible) to bring ſuch to condign Puniſhment, by reaſon of the cloſe conveyances that there are between the Devil and Witches; but this is a very dangerous and unjuſtifiable tenet. Men ſerve God in doing their Duty, he never intended that all perſons guilty of Capital Crimes ſhould be diſcovered and puniſhed by men in this Life, though they be never ſo curious in ſearching after Iniquity. It is therefore exceeding neceſſary that in ſuch a day as this, men be informed what is Evidence and what is not. It concerns men in point of Charity; for tho' the moſt ſhining Profeſſor may be ſecretly a moſt abominable Sinner, yet till he be detected, our Charity is bound to Judge according to what appears: and notwithſtanding that a clear evidence muſt determine a caſe; yet preſumptions muſt be weighed againſt pre-*

ſumptions, and Charity is not to be forgone as long as it has the moſt preponderating on its ſide. And it is of no leſs neceſſity in point of Juſtice; there are not only Teſtimonies required by God, which are to be credited according to the Rules given in his Word referring to witneſſes: But there is alſo an Evidence ſuppoſed to be in the Teſtimony, which is throughly to be weighed, and if it do not infallibly prove the Crime againſt the perſon accuſed, it ought not to determine him guilty of it; for ſo a righteous Man may be Condemned unjuſtly. In the caſe of Witchcrafts we know that the Devil is the immediate Agent in the Miſchief done, the conſent or compact of the Witch is the thing to be Demonſtrated.

Among many Arguments to evince this, that which is moſt under preſent debate, is that which refers to ſomething vulgarly called Spectre Evidence, *and a certain ſort of* Ordeal *or trial by the ſight and touch. The principal Plea to juſtifie the convictive Evidence in theſe, is fetcht from the Conſideration of the Wiſdom and Righteouſneſs of God in Governing the World, which they ſuppoſe would fail, if ſuch things were permitted to befal an innocent perſon: but it is certain, that too reſolute concluſions drawn from hence, are bold uſurpations upon ſpotleſs* Sovereignty: *and tho' ſome things if ſuffered to be common, would ſubvert this Government, and disband, yea ruine Humane Society; yet God doth ſometimes ſuffer ſuch things to evene, that we may thereby know how much we are beholden to him, for that reſtraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would elſe reduce a World into a Chaos. That the Reſolutions of ſuch Caſes as theſe is proper for the Servants of Chriſt in the Miniſtry cannot be denied; the ſeaſonableneſs of doing it now, will be juſtified by the Conſideration of the neceſſity there is at this time of a right Information of mens Judgments about theſe things, and the danger of their being miſinformed.*

The Reverend, Learned, and Judicious Author of the enſuing Caſes, is too well known to need our Commendation: All that we are concerned in, is to aſſert our hearty Conſent to, and Concurrence with the ſubſtance of what is contained in the following Diſcourſe: *And, with our hearty Requeſt to God, that he would diſcover the depths of this Helliſh Deſign; direct in the whole management of this Affair; prevent the taking any wrong ſteps in this dark way; and that he would in particular Bleſs theſe faithful Endeavours of his Servant to that end, we Commend it and you to his Divine Benediction.*

William Hubbard.
Samuel Phillips.
Charles Morton.
James Allen.
Michael Wiggleſworth.
Samuel Whiting Sen.
Samuel Willard.
John Bailly.
Jabez Fox.
Joſeph Gerriſh.
Samuel Angier.
John Wiſe.
Joſeph Capen.
Nehemiah Walter.

Caſes

CASES of CONSCIENCE CONCERNING Witchcrafts.

THE First Case that I am desired to express my Judgment in, is this, *Whether it is not Possible for the Devil to impose on the imaginations of Persons Bewitched, and to cause them to Believe that an Innocent, yea that a Pious person does torment them, when the Devil himself doth it; or whether Satan may not appear in the Shape of an Innocent and Pious, as well as of a Nocent and Wicked Person, to Afflict such as suffer by Diabolical Molestations?*

The Answer to the Question must be Affirmative; Let the following Arguments be duely weighed in the Ballance of the Sanctuary.

Argu. 1. There are several Scriptures from which we may infer the Possibility of what is Affirmed.

1. We find that the *Devil by the Instigation of the Witch at Endor appeared in the Likeness of the Prophet Samuel.* I am not ignorant that some have asserted that, which, if it were proved, would evert this Argument, *viz.* that it was the true and not a delusive *Samuel* which the Witch brought to converse with *Saul.* Of this Opinion are some of the Jewish Rabbies (*a*) and some Christian Doctors (*b*) and many late Popish Authors (*c*) amongst whom *Cornel. a Lapide* is most elaborate. But that it was a *Dæmon* representing *Samuel* has been evinced by learned and Orthodox Writers: especially (*e*) *Peter Martyr,* (*f*) *Balduinus* (†) *Lavater,* and our incomparable *John Rainolde.* I shall not here insist on the clearing of that, especially considering, that elsewhere I have done it: only let me add, that the Witch said to *Saul, I see Elohim,* i. e. *A God*; (for the whole Context shows, that a single Person is intended) *Ascending out of the Earth.* 1 Sam. 28. 13. The Devil would be

(*a*) R. Saadias. R. Eleazer Athias. Lyranus, *Sic &* Josephus. (*b*) Ambrose, Hierom. Basil, Nazianzen. (*c*) Thomas, Tostatus, Suarez. *Cajetan.* (*d*) *In Ecclesiast. Chap.* 46. 22, 23. (*e*) *In Locum.* (*f*) *In* 2 Cor. 11. 14. *Pag* 555. (†) *De Spectris. Cap.* 7.

be Worshipped as a God, and *Saul* now, that he was become a *Necromancer*, must bow himself to him. Moreover, had it been the true *Samuel* from Heaven reprehending *Saul*, there is great Reason to believe, that he would not only have reproved him for his sin, in not executing Judgment on the *Amalekites*; as in Ver. 18. But for his Wickedness in consulting with Familiar Spirits: For which Sin it was in special that he died, 2 *Chron.* 10. 13. But in as much as there is not one word to testify against that Abomination, we may conclude that it was not real *Samuel* that appeared to *Saul*: and if it were the Devil in his likeness, the Argument seems very strong, that if the Devil may appear in the form of a Saint in Glory, much more is it possible for him to put on the likeness of the most Pious and Innocent Saint on Earth. There are, who acknowledge that a *Dæmon* may appear in the shape of a Godly Person, *But not as doing Evil.* Whereas the Devil in *Samuel's* likeness told a pernicious Lye, when he said, *Thou hast disquieted me.* It was not in the Power of *Saul*, nor of all the Devils in Hell, to disquiet a Soul in Heaven, where *Samuel* had been for Two years before this Apparition. Nor did the *Spectre* speak true, when he said, *Thou and thy Sons shall be with me*: Tho' *Saul* himself at his Death went to be with the Devil, his Son *Jonathan* did not so. Besides, (which suits with the matter in hand) the Devil in *Samuels* shape confirmed *Necromancy* and *Cursed Witchery.* He that can in the likeness of Saints encourage Witches to Familiarity with Hell, may possibly in the likeness of a Saint afflict a Bewitched Person. But this we see from Scripture, Satan may be permitted to do.

And whereas it is objected, that the Devil may appear indeed in the form of Dead Persons, but that he cannot represent such as are living; The contrary is manifest. No Question had *Saul* said to the Witch, bring me *David* who was then living, she could as easily have shown living *David* as dead *Samuel*, as easily as that great Conjurer, of whom * *Wierus* speaks, brought the appearance of *Hector* and *Achilles*, and after that of *David* before the Emperour *Maximilian.*

* *De Præstigiis Dæmonum.* Lib. 1. Cap. 16.

And that evil Angels have sometimes appeared in the likeness of living absent persons, is a thing abundantly confirmed by History. † *Austin* tells us of one that went for resolution in some intricate Questions to a Philosopher, of whom he could get no Answer; but in the Night the Philosopher comes to him, and resolves all his Doubts. Not long after, he demanded the reason why

† De C. D. L. 18.

why he could not anſwer him in the Day as well as in the Night; The Philoſopher profeſſed he was not with him in the Night, only acknowledged that he dreamed of his having ſuch converſation of his Friend, but he was all the time at home, and aſleep. *Paulus* and *Palladius* did both of them profeſs to *Auſtin*, that one in his ſhape, had divers times, and in divers places appeared to them †: *Thyreus* mentions ſeveral Apparitions of abſent living perſons, which happened in his time, and which he had the certain knowledge of. A Man that is in one place cannot (*Autoproſopos*) at the ſame time be in another. It remains then that ſuch *Spectres* are Prodigious and Supernatural, and not without Diabolical Operation. It has been Controverted among Learned Men, whether innocent Perſons may not by the malice and deluding Power of the Devil be repreſented as preſent amongſt Witches at their dark Aſſemblies. The mentioned *Thyreus* ſays, that the Devil may, and often does repreſent the forms of Innocent Perſons out of thoſe Conventions, and that there is no Queſtion to be made of it, but as to his natural Power and Art he is able to make their ſhapes appear amongſt his own Servants, but he ſuppoſeth the Providence of God will not ſuffer ſuch an Injury to be done to an Innocent Perſon. With him (*b*) *Delrio*, and *Spineus* concur. But *Cumanus* in his *Lucerna Inquiſitorum* (a Book which I have not yet ſeen) defends the Affirmative in this Queſtion. *Bins Fieldius* in his Treatiſe, concerning the Confeſſion of Witches, inclines to the Negative, only (*c*) he acknowledges *Dei extraordinaria Permiſſione poſſe Innocentes ſic repreſentari.* And he that ſhall aſſert, that Great and Holy God never did nor ever will permit the Devil thus far to abuſe an Innocent Perſon, affirms more than he is able to prove. The ſtory of *Germanus* his diſcovering a Diabolical illuſion of this nature, concerning a great number of Perſons that ſeemed to be at a Feaſt when they were really at home and aſleep, is mentioned by many Authors. But the particulars inſiſted on, do ſufficiently evince the Truth of what we aſſert, *viz.* That the Devil may by Divine Permiſſion appear in the ſhape of Innocent and Pious Perſons. Nevertheleſs, It is evident from another Scripture, *viz.* that in 2 *Cor.* 11. 14. *For Satan himſelf is transformed into an Angel of Light.* He ſeems to be what he is not, and makes others ſeem to be what they they are not. He repreſents evil men as good, and good men as evil. The Angels of Heaven (who are the Angels of Light) love Truth and Righteouſneſs, the Devil will ſeem to do ſo to; and does therefore ſometimes lay before men excellent

† *De Appar. Spirituum Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 7.

(*b*) *Miſq. Magicar. Lib.* 2. *C.* 12.

(*c*) *De confeſ. ſag.* pag. 191.

good

good Principles and exhort them (as he did *Theodore Maillit*) to practise many things, which by the Law of Righteousness they are obliged unto, and hereby he does more effectually deceive. Is it not strange, that he has sometimes intimated to his most devoted servants, that if they would have familiar Conversation with him, they must be careful to keep themselves from enormous Sins, and pray constantly for Divine Protection? But so has he transformed himself into an Angel of Light, as (*a*) *Boissardus* sheweth. He has frequently appeared to Men pretending to be a good Angel, so to *Anatolius* of old; and the late instances of (*b*) Dr. *Dee* and *Kellet* are famously known. How many deluded *Enthusiasts* both in former and latter times have been imposed on by Satans appearing visibly to them, pretending to be a good Angel. And moreover, he may be said to transform himself into an *Angel of Light*, because of his appearing in the Form of *Holy Men*, who are the *Children of Light*, yea in the shape and habit of Eminent Ministers of God. So did he appear to Mr. *Earl* of *Colchester* in the likeness of Mr. *Liddal* an Holy Man of God, and to the *Turkish Chaous* Baptized at *London*, *Anno* 1658. pretending to be Mr. *Dury* an Excellent Minister of Christ. And how often has he pretended to be the Apostle *Paul* or *Peter* or some other celebrated Saint? Ecclesiastical Histories abound with Instances of this nature. Yea, sometimes he has transfigured himself into the Form of Christ. It is reported that he appeared to (*c*) St. *Martin* Gloriously arrayed, as if he had been Christ. So likewise to (*d*) *Secundellus*, and to another Saint, who suspecting it was Satan, transforming himself into an *Angel of Light* had this expression, *If I may see Christ in Heaven it is enough, I desire not to see him in this World*; whereupon the *Spectre* vanished. It has been related of *Luther*, that after he had been Fasting and Praying in his Study, the Devil come pretending to be Christ, but *Luther* saying, *away thou confounded Devil, I acknowledge no Christ but what is in my Bible*, nothing more was seen. Thus then the Devil is able (by Divine Permission) to Change himself into what form or figure he pleaseth,

(*a*) *De secretis mag.* p. 31. see also *Lavater de Spect.* Lib. 2. Cap. 18.

(*b*) Dr. *Casaubon*: of Spirits.

(*c*) *Sulpitius Severus in vita martini.*

(*d*) *Guaccius compend. malefic.* p. 342.

Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum.

A Third Scripture to our purpose is that, in *Rev.* 12. 10. where the Devil is called the *Accuser of the Brethren*. Such is the malice and impudence of the Devil, as that he does accuse good Men,

and

and that before God, and that not only of ſuch Faults as they really are guilty of, he accuſed *Joſhua* with his filthy Garments, when through his Indulgence ſome of his Family had tranſgreſſed by unlawful Marriages, *Zach.* 3. 23. with *Ezra* 10. 18. but alſo with ſuch Crimes, as they are altogether free from. He repreſented the Primitive Chriſtians as the vileſt of men, and as if at their Meetings they did commit the moſt nefandous Villanies that ever were known; and that not only Innocent, but Eminently Pious Perſons ſhould thro' the Malice of the Devil be accuſed with the Crime of Witchcraft, is no new thing. Such an Affliction did the Lord ſee meet to exerciſe the great *Athanaſius* with (*t*) only the Divine Providence did wonderfully vindicate him from that as well as from ſome other foul Aſperſions. The *Waldenſes* (altho' the Scriptures call them *Saints*, *Rev.* 13. 7.) have been traduced by Satan and by the World as horrible Witches; ſo have others in other places, only becauſe they have done extraordinary things by their Prayers: It is by many Authors related, that a City in *France* was moleſted with a Diabolical *Spectre*, which the People were wont to call *Hugon*; near that place a number of Proteſtants were wont to meet to ſerve God, whence the Profeſſors of the true reformed Religion were nic-named *Hugonots*, by the Papiſts, who deſigned to render them before the World, as the Servants and Worſhippers of that *Dæmon*, that went under the name of *Hugon*. And how often have I read in Books written by Jeſuits, that *Luther* was a Wizard, and that he did himſelf confeſs that he had familiarity with Satan! Moſt impudent Untruths! nor are theſe things to be wondered at, ſince the Holy Son of God himſelf was reputed a *Magician*, and one that had Familiarity with the greateſt of Devils. The Blaſpheming Phariſees ſaid, *he caſts out the Devils thro' the Prince of Devils*, Matth. 9. 34. There is then not the beſt Saint on Earth (Man or Woman) that can aſſure themſelves that the Devil ſhall not caſt ſuch an Imputation upon them. *It is enough for the Diſciple that he be as his Maſter, and the Servant as his Lord: If they have called the Maſter of the Houſe Beelzebub, how much more them of his Houſhold*, Matth. 10. 25. It is not for men to determine how far the holy God may permit the wicked one to proceed in his Accuſations. The ſacred ſtory of *Job* giveth us to underſtand, that the Lord whoſe ways art paſt finding out, does for wiſe and holy Ends ſuffer Satan by immediate Operation, (and conſequently by Witchcraft) greatly to afflict innocent Perſons, as in their Bodies and Eſtates, ſo in their Reputations. I ſhall mention but one Scripture

(*t*) *Binsfield de Confeſs. Sag.* p. 187.

more to confirm the Truth in hand: It is that in *Eccles.* 9. 2, 3. where it is said, *All things come alike to all, there is one event to the Righteous and to the Wicked, as is the Good, so is the Sinner, this is an evil amongst all things under the Sun, that there is one Event happeneth to all.* And in *Eccles.* 7. 15. 'tis said, *There is a just man that perisheth in his Righteousness.*

From hence we infer, that there is no outward Affliction whatsoever but may befal a good Man; now to be represented by Satan as a Tormentor of Bewitched or Possessed Persons, is a sore Affliction to a good Man. To be tormented by Satan is a sore Affliction, yet nothing but what befel *Job*, and a Daughter of *Abraham*, whom we read of in the Gospel: To be represented by Satan as tormenting others, is an Affliction like the former; the Lord may bring such extraordinary Temptations on his own Children, to afflict and humble them, for some Sin they have been guilty of before him. A most wicked Person in St. *Ives*, got a Knife, and went with it to a Ministers House, designing to stab him, but was disappointed; afterwards Conscience being awakened, the Devil appears to this Person in the Shape of that Minister, with a Knife in his hand exhorting to Self-murder: Was not here a Punishment suitable to the Sin which that Person had been guilty of? Perhaps some of those whom Satan has represented as committing Witchcrafts, have been tampering with some foolish and wicked Sorceries, tho' not to that degree, which is Criminal and Capital by the Laws both of God and Men; for this Satan may be permitted so to scourge them; or it may be, they have misrepresented and abused others, for which cause the Holy God may justly give Satan leave falsely to represent them.

Have we not known some that have bitterly censured all that have been complained of by bewitched Persons, saying it was impossible they should not be guilty; soon upon which themselves or some near Relations of theirs, have been to the lasting Infamy of their Families, been accused after the same manner, and Personated by the Devil! Such tremendous Rebukes on a few, should make all men to be careful how they joyn with Satan in Condemning the Innocent.

Arg. 2. *Because it is possible for the Devil in the Shape of an innocent Person to do other mischiefs.* As for those who acknowledge that Satan may personate a pious Person, but not to do mischief, their Opinion has been confuted by more than a few unhappy Instances.

Mr. *Clark*

Mr. *Clark* (*u*) speaks of a Man that had been an Atheist, or a Sadduce, not believing that there are any Devils or any (to us) invisible World; this Man was converted, but as a Punishment of his Infidelity, evil Angels did often appear to him in the Shape of his most intimate Friends, and would sometimes seduce him into great Inconveniences. It has been elsewhere, and but now noted, that a *Dæmon* in the shape of excellent Mr. *Dury* appeared to the *Turkish Chaos*, *Anno.* 1658. to dissuade him from prosecuting his desires of Baptism into the Name of Christ: Also to Mr. *Earle* in the likeness of his Friends, to discourage him from doing things lawful and good. A multitude of *Jews* were once deluded by a Person pretending to be *Moses* from Heaven, and that if they would follow him they should pass safe through the Sea (as did their Fathers of old through the Red Sea) whereby great numbers of them were deceived and perished in the Waters. (*w*) Learned and judicious Men have concluded that this *Moses Creensis* was a *Dæmon*, transforming himself into *Moses*: And that the Devil has frequently appeared (*x*) in the shape of famous Persons to the end that he might seduce Men into Idolatry, a Sin equal to that of Witchcraft) no Man that has made it his Concern to enquire into things of this nature can be ignorant. Many Examples of this kind are collected by Mr. *Bromhall* in his *Treatise of Spectres, and the cunning Devil, to strengthen Men in their worshipping of Saints departed*: And by Mr. *Bovet* in his *Pandemonium*. It is credibly reported that the Devil in the likeness of a faithful Minister (as St. *Ives* before mentioned, near *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*) came to one that was in trouble of Mind, telling her the longer she lived, the worse it would be for her; and therefore advising her to Self-murder: An eminent Person still living had the account of this Matter from Mr. *Cotton* (the famous Teacher of both *Bostons*.) He was well acquainted with that Minister, who related to him the whole Story, with all the Circumstances of it: For Mr. *Cotton* was so affected with the Report, as to take a Journey on purpose to the Town where this happened, that so he might obtain a satisfactory account about it, which he did. Some Authors say, that a *Dæmon* appeared in the form of *Sylvanus* (*Hierom*'s Friend) attempting a dishonest thing, the Devil thereby designing to blast the Reputation of a famous Bishop. I have in another Book mentioned that celebrated Instance concerning an honest Citizen in *Zurick* (the Metropolis of *Helvetia*) in whose shape the Devil appeared, committing an abominable Fact (not fit to be named) very

(*u*) Examples *Vol.* I. *p.* 510.

(*w*) *Socrat.'s* Hist. *p.* 7. *C.* 38.

(*x*) *Lege Villalpond de Magia*, &c. L. 2. Cap. 27.

very early in the Morning, seen by the Prefect of the City, and his Servant; they were amazed to behold a Man of good Esteem for his Conversation, perpetrating a thing so vile and abominable; but going from the *Spectre* in the Field, to the Citizen's House in the Town, they found him at home, and in his Bed, nor had he been abroad that Morning, which convinced them, that what they saw was an Illusion of the Devil: This Passage is mentioned as a thing known and certain by *Lavater* in his Treatise of *Spectres*, (z) who was a most learned and judicious Preacher in that City. Our *Juel* saith of him, that he must ingeniously confess, that he never understood *Solomon's Proverbs*, until *Lavater* expounded them to him: That Book of his *De Spectris* hath been published in *Latin*, High and Low *Dutch*, *French*, *Italian*. The learned *Zanchy* (†) speaks highly of it, professing that he had read it both with Pleasure and Profit. *Voetius* (a) takes notice of that passage which we have quoted out of *Levater* as a thing memorable.

(z) Part 1. Chap. 19. Pag. 86.

(†) *Epistol.* 2.

(a) In Disput. *de Magia*. P. 575.

Some Popish Authors argue, That that Devil cannot personate an innocent Man as doing an act of Witchcraft, because then he might as well represent them as committing Theft, Murder, *&c.* And if so, there would be no living in the World: But I turn the Argument against them, he may (as the mentioned Instances prove) personate honest Men as doing other Evils; and no solid Reason can be given why he may not as well personate them under the Notion of Witches, as under the Notion of Thieves, Murders, and Idolaters: As for the Objection, that then there would be no living in the World, we shall consider it under the next Argument.

Arg. 3. *If Satan may not represent one that is not a Covenant Servant of his, as afflicting those that are bewitched or possessed, then it is either because he wants Will, or Power to do this, or because God will never permit him thus to do.* No Man but a Sadduce doubts of the ill will of Devils; nothing is more pleasing to the Malice of those wicked Spirits than to see Innocency wronged: And the Power of the Enemy is such, as that having once obtained a Divine Concession to use his Art, he can do this and much more than this amounts unto: We know by Scripture-Revelation, that the Sorcerers of *Egypt* caused many untrue and delusive (†) Representations before *Pharaoh* and his Servants. *Exod.* 7. 11, 22. & 8. 7. And we read of the working of Satan in all Power and Signs and

(†) In Mr. *Couper's* Mystery of Witchcraft, Pag. 174, 175.

and lying Wonders. 2 *Theſſ.* 2. 9. His Heart is beyond what the wiſeſt of Men may pretend unto: He has perfect skill in Opticks, and can therefore cauſe that to be viſible to one, which is not ſo to another, and things alſo to appear far otherwiſe then they are: He has likewiſe the Art of Limning in the Perfection of it, and knows what may be done by Colours. It is an odd paſſage (*b*) which I find in the *Acta Eruditorum*, printed at *Lipſick*, that about Thirty two Years ago an indigent Merchant in *France* was inſtructed by a *Dæmon*, that with Water of *Borax* he might colour Taffities, ſo as to cauſe them to gliſter and look very gay: He ſearcheth into the Nature, Cauſes, and Reaſons of things, whereby he is able to produce wonderful effects: So that if he does not form the Shape of an innocent Perſon as afflicting others, it is not from want of either will or power. They that affirm, that God never did, nor ever will permit him thus to do, alledge that it is inconſiſtant with the Righteouſneſs and Providence of God, in governing Humane Affairs thus to ſuffer Men to be impoſed on: It muſt be acknowledged (*c*) that the Divine Providence has taken care, that the greateſt part of Mankind ſhall not be left to unavoidable Deception, ſo as to be always abuſed by the miſchievous Agents of Hell, in the Objects of plain Sence: But yet it is not for ſinful and ſilly Mortals to preſcribe Rules to the moſt High in his Government of the World, or to direct him how far he may permit Satan to uſe his power: I am apt to think that there are ſome amongſt us, who if they had lived in *Job*'s days, and ſeen the Devil tormenting of him, and heard him complaining of being ſcared with Dreams, and terrified with Night-viſions, they would have joined with his uncharitable Friends in cenſuring him as a moſt guilty Perſon: But we ſhould conſider, that the moſt high God doth ſometimes deal with Men in a way of abſolute Sovereignty, performing the thing which is appointed for them, and many ſuch things are with him: If he does deſtroy the *perfect with the wicked, and laugh at the tryal of the innocent*, (Job 9. 22, 23.) Who ſhall enter into his Councils! who has given him a Charge over the Earth! or who has diſpoſed the whole World! Men are not able to give an account of his ordinary Works, much leſs of his ſecret Counſels, and the dark Diſpenſations of his Providence: They do but darken Counſel by Words without Knowledge when they undertake it: If we are not able to ſee how this or that can ſtand with the Righteouſneſs of him that governs the World, ſhall we ſay that the Almighty will pervert Judg-

(*b*) 6. *Acta Eruditorum Anno.* 1690. Pag. 113.

(*c*) In Mr. *Glanvil*'s Philoſophical Conſiderations.

Judgment? or that he that governs the Earth hateth Right? Shall we condemn him that is most just? But whereas 'tis objected, where is Providence? And how shall Men live on the Earth, if the Devil may be permitted to use such Power? I demand, where was Providence, when Satan had Power to cause Sons of *Belial* to lye and swear away the Life of innocent *Naboth*, laying such Crimes to his charge as he was never guilty of? And what an Hour of Darkness was it? How far was the Power of Hell permitted to prevail, when Christ the Son of God was accused, condemned, and hanged for a Crime that he never was guilty of? That was the strangest Providence that has happened since the World began, and yet in the Issue the most glorious: We must therefore distinguish between what does ordinarily come to pass by the Providence of God, and things which are extraordinary: It is not an usual thing for a *Naboth* to have his Life taken from him by false Accusations, or for an *Athanasius* or a *Susanna* to be charged, and perhaps brought before Courts of Judicature for Crimes of which they were altogether innocent.

But if we therefore conclude, that such a thing as this can never happen in the World, we shall offend against the Generation of the Just: It is not ordinary for Devils to be permitted to reveal the secret Sins of Men; yet this has been done more than once or twice: Nor is it ordinary for *Dæmons* to steal Money out of Mens Pockets, and Purses, or Wine and Cyder out of their Cellars. Yet some such Instances have there been amongst our selves. It is not usual for Providence to permit the Devil to come from Hell and to throw Fire on the tops of Houses, and to cause a whole Town to be burnt to Ashes thereby; there would (it must be confessed) be no living in the World, if evil Angels should be permitted to do thus when they had a mind to it; nevertheless, Authors worthy of Credit, tell us, that this has sometimes happened. (*d*) Both *Erasmus* and *Cardanus* write that the Town of *Schiltach* in *Germany*, was in the Month of *April*, 1533. set on fire by a Devil, and burnt to the ground in an Hour's space: 'Tis also reported by *Sigibert*, *Aventinus* and others, that some Cottages and Barns in a Town called *Bingus* were fired by a wicked *Genius*; that spiteful *Dæmon* said it was for the Impieties of such a Man whom he named, that he was sent to molest them: The poor Man to satisfie his Neighbours, who were ready to Stone him, carried an hot Iron in his Hand, but receiving no hurt thereby, he was judged to be innocent. It is not ordinary for a Devil upon the dying Curse

(*d*) *De subtilitate.* Lib. 19.

Curſe of a Servant, to have a Commiſſion from Heaven to tear and torment a bloody cruel Maſter; yet ſuch a thing may poſſibly come to paſs. There is a fearful Story to this purpoſe, in the account of the *Bucaneers* of *America*, (e) wherein my Author relates that a Servant, who was *Spirited* or *Kidnapt* (as they call it) into *America*, falling into the Hands of a Tyrannical Maſter, he ran away from him, but being taken and brought back, the hard-hearted Tyrant laſhed him on his naked Back, until his Body ran in an entire ſtream of Blood; to make the Torment of this miſerable Creature intolerable, he anointed his Wounds with Juice of Lemon mingled with Salt and Pepper, being ground ſmall together, with which torture the miſerable Wretch gave up the Ghoſt, with theſe dying Words, *I beſeech the Almighty God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, that he permit a wicked Spirit, to make thee feel as many Torments before thy Death, as thou haſt cauſed me to feel before mine:* Scarce four days were paſt after this horrible Fact, when the Almighty Judge gave Permiſſion to the Father of Wickedneſs to poſſeſs the Body of that cruel Maſter, and to make him lacerate his own Fleſh until he died, belike ſurrendring his Ghoſt into the Hands of the infernal Spirit, who had tormented his Body: But of this Tragical Story enough.

(e) P 75.76.

To proceed, Is it not uſual for Perſons after their Death to appear unto the Living: But it does not therefore follow, that the great God will not ſuffer this to be: For both in former and latter Ages, Examples thereof have not been wanting: No longer ſince than the laſt Winter, there was much diſcourſe in *London* concerning a Gentlewoman, unto whom her dead Son (and another whom ſhe knew not) had appeared: Being then in *London*, I was willing to ſatisfie my ſelf, by enquiring into the Truth of what was reported; and on *Febr.* 23. 1691. my Brother (who is now a Paſtor to a Congregation in that City) and I diſcourſed the Gentlewoman ſpoken of; ſhe told us, that a Son of hers, who had been a very civil young Man, but more airy in his Temper than was pleaſing to his ſerious Mother, being dead, ſhe was much concerned in her Thoughts about his Condition in the other World; but a Fortnight after his Death he appeared to her, ſaying, *Mother you are ſolicitous about my Spiritual Welfare; trouble your ſelf no more, for I am happy,* and ſo vaniſhed; ſhould there be a continual Intercourſe between the Viſible and Inviſible World, it would breed Confuſion. But from thence to infer, that the great Ruler of the Univerſe will never permit any thing of this nature

nature to be, is an inconsequent Conclusion; it is not usual for Devils to be permitted to come and violently carry away persons through the Air, several miles from their Habitations: Nevertheless, this was done in *Sweedland* about twenty Years ago, by means of a cursed Knot of Witches there. And a learned Physician now living, giveth an account of several Children, who by Diabolical Frauds were stollen from their Parents, and others left in their room: And of two, that in the night-time a Line was by invisible Hands put about their Necks, with which they had been strangled, but that some near them happily prevented it. *V. Germ. Ephem. Anno* 1689. pag. 51. 516.

Let me further add here; It has very seldom been known, that Satan has Personated innocent Men doing an ill thing, but Providence has found out some way for their Vindication; either they have been able to prove that they were in another place when that Fact was done, or the like. So that perhaps there never was an Instance of any innocent Person Condemned in any Court of Judicature on Earth, only through Satans deluding and imposing on the Imaginations of Men, when nevertheless, the Witnesses, Juries, and Judges, were all to be excused from blame.

Arg. 4. *It is certain both from Scripture and History, that Magicians by their Inchantments and Hellish Conjurations, may cause a false Representation of Persons and Things.* An inchanted eye shall see such things as others cannot discern; it is a thing too well known to be denied, that some by rubbing their eyes with a bewitched Water, have immediately thereupon seen that which others could not discern; and there are Persons in the World, who have a strange *Spectral sight.* Mr. *Glanvil* (*f*) speaks of a Dutch-man that could see Ghosts which others could perceive nothing of. There are in *Spain* a sort of men whom they call *Zahurs*, these can see into the Bowels of the Earth; they are able to discover Minerals and hidden Treasures; nevertheless, they have their extraordinary sight only on *Tuesdays* and *Fridays*, and not on the other days of the Week. *Delrio* saith, that when he was at *Madrid*, *Anno Dom.* 1575. he saw some of these strange sighted Creatures. Mr. *George Sinclare*, in his Book Entituled, *Satans Invisible World discovered*, (*h*) has these Words, 'I am undoubtedly informed, that men and 'women in the High-lands can discern Fatality approaching others, 'by seeing them in the Waters or with Winding Sheets about 'them.

(*f*) In his Sadducism Triumph. Collection, p. 201.

(*h*) p. 215. (Disq. Magic.) l. 1. c. 3. p. 22.

'them. And that others can lecture in a Sheeps ſhoulder-bone a 'Death within the Pariſh ſeven or eight Days before it come. It 'is not improbable but that ſuch Preternatural Knowledge comes 'firſt by a Compact with the Devil, and is derived downward by 'Succeſſion to their Poſterity: Many ſuch I ſuppoſe are Innocent, 'and have this ſight againſt their Will and Inclination. Thus Mr. *Sinclare*, I concur with his ſuppoſal, that ſuch Knowledge is originally from Satan, and perhaps the Effect of ſome old Inchantment. There are ſome at this day in the World, that if they come into a Houſe where one of the Family will die within a Fortnight, the ſmell of a dead Corpſe offends them to ſuch a degree, as that they cannot ſtay in that Houſe. It is reported that near unto the Abby of St. *Maurice* in *Burgundy* (*i*) there is a Fiſh-pond in which are Fiſhes put according to the number of the Monks of that place; if any one of them happen to be ſick, there is a Fiſh ſeen to Float and Swim above Water half dead, and if the Monk ſhall die, the Fiſh a few days before dieth. In ſome parts in *Wales* Death-lights or Corps Candles (as they call them) are ſeen in the night time going from the Houſe where ſome body will ſhortly die, and paſſing in to the Church-yard. Of this, my Honoured and never to be forgotten Friend Mr. *Richard Baxter*, (*k*) has given an Account in his Book about Witchcrafts lately Publiſhed: what to make of ſuch things, except they be the effects of ſome old Inchantment, I know not; nor what Natural Reaſon to aſſign for that which I find amongſt the Obſervations of the *Imperial Academy* for the Year 1687, viz. That in an Orchard where are choice *Damaſcen* Plumbs, the Maſter of the Family being ſick of a *Quartan Ague*, whilſt he continued very ill, four of his Plumb-trees inſtead of Damaſcens brought forth a vile ſort of yellow Plumbs: but recovering Health, the next Year the Tree did (as formerly) bear Damaſcens again; but when after that he fell into a fatal Dropſie, on thoſe Trees were ſeen not Damaſcens, but another ſort of Fruit. The ſame Author (*l*) gives Inſtances of which he had the certain knowledge, concerning Apple-trees and Pear-trees, that the Fruit of them would on a ſudden wither as if they had been baked in an Oven, when the owners of them were mortally ſick. It is no leſs ſtrange, that in the Illuſtrious Electoral (*m*) Houſe of *Brandenburg* before the Death of ſome one of the Family Feminine Spectres appeared: (*n*) and often in the Houſes of Great men, Voices and Viſions from the Inviſible World have been the Harbingers of Death. When any Heir in the Worſhipful Family of the

(*i*) Valrus de Faſcino Lib. 2.

(*k*) p. 131.

(*l*) V. Germ. Epheмer. Anno 16. p. 379.

(*m*) Henkelius de obſeſſis pag. 86.

(*n*) Camerar. cent. 1. c. 73. Cardan de rerum varietate Lib. 16. cap. 93.

the *Breertons* in *Cheshire* is near his Death, there are seen in a Pool adjoyning, Bodies of Trees swimming for certain days together, on which Learned *Cambden* (*o*) has this Note, *These and such like things are done either by the Holy Tutelar Angels of Men, or else by the Devils, who by Gods Permission mightily shew their Power in this Inferiour World.* As for Mr. *Sinclare*'s Notion that some Persons may have a *second Sight*, (as 'tis termed) and yet be themselves Innocent, I am satisfied that he judgeth right; for this is common amongst the *Laplanders*, who are horribly addicted to Magical Incantations: They bequeath their *Dæmons* to their Children as a Legacy, by whom they are often assisted (like Bewitched Persons as they are) to see and do things beyond the Power of Nature. An Historian who deserves Credit, relates, (*p*) that a certain *Laplander* gave him a true and particular Account of what had happened to him in his Journey to *Lapland*; and further complained to him with Tears, that things at great distance were represented to him, and how much he desired to be Delivered from that Diabolical Sight, but could not; this doubtless was caused by some Inchantment. But to proceed to what I intend; the Eyes of Persons by reason of Inchanting Charms, may not only see what others do not, but be under such power of Fascination, as that things which are not, shall appear to them as real: The Apostle speaks of *Bewitched Eyes*, *Gal.* 3. 1. and we know from Scripture, that the Imaginations of men have by Inchantments been imposed upon; and Histories abound with very strange Instances of this Nature: The old Witch *Circe* by an Inchanted Cup caused *Ulysses* his Companions to imagine themselves to be turned into Swine; and how many Witches have been themselves so bewitched by the Devil, as really to believe that they were transformed into Wolves, or Dogs, or Cats. It is reported of *Simon Magus*, (*q*) that by his Sorceries he would so impose on the Imaginations of People, as that they thought he had really changed himself into another sort of Creature. *Apollonius* of *Tyana* could out do *Simon* with his Magick: The great *Bohemian* Conjurer *Zyto* (*r*) by his Inchantments, caused certain Persons whom he had a mind to try his Art upon, to imagine that their Hands were turned into the Feet of an Ox, or into the Hoofs of a Horse, so that they could not reach to the Dishes before them to take any thing thence; he sold Wisps of Straw to a Butcher who bought them for Swine, that many such prestigious Pranks were played; by the unhappy *Faustus*, is attested by *Camerarius*, *Wyerus*, *Voetius*, *Lavater*, and *Lonicer*. There

(*o*) In his *Britannia*, p. 609.

(*p*) See the Hist. of *Lapland*, and Mr. *Burton*'s Hist. of *Dæmons*.

(*q*) *Schotten* Physic. curios. lib. 1. c. 16.

(*r*) See *Wanley* of the Wonders of the World. p. 215.

There is newly Publiſhed a Book (mentioned in the *Acta Eruditorum*) wherein the Author (s) (*Wiechard Valvaſſor*) relates, that a *Venetian* Jew inſtructed him (only he would not attend his Inſtructions) how to make a Magical Glaſs which ſhould repreſent any Perſon or thing according as he ſhould deſire. If a Magician by an Inchanted Glaſs can do this, he may as well by the help of a Dæmon cauſe falſe *Idæas* of Perſons and Things to be impreſſed on the Imaginations of bewitched Perſons; the Blood and Spirits of a Man, that is bitten with a Mad-Dog, are ſo envenomed, as that ſtrange Impreſſions are thereby made on his Imagination: let him be brought into a Room where there is a Looking-Glaſs, and he will (if put upon it) not only ſay but ſwear that he ſees a Dog, tho' in truth there is no Dog it may be within 20 Miles of him; and is it not then poſſible for the Dogs of Hell to poyſon the Imaginations of miſerable Creatures, ſo as that they ſhall believe and ſwear that ſuch Perſons hurt them as never did ſo? I have heard of an Inchanted Pin, that has cauſed the Condemnation and Death of many ſcores of innocent Perſons. There was a notorious *Witchfinder* in *Scotland*, that undertook by a Pin, to make an infallible Diſcovery of ſuſpected Perſons, whether they were Witches or not, if when the Pin was run an Inch or two into the Body of the accuſed Party no Blood appeared, nor any ſenſe of Pain, then he declared them to be Witches; by means hereof my Author tells me no leſs then 300 perſons were Condemned for Witches in that Kingdom. This Bloody Jugler after he had done enough in *Scotland*, came to the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; an honeſt Man now living in *New-England* aſſureth me, that he ſaw the Man thruſt a great Braſs Pin two Inches into the Body of one, that ſome would in that way try whether there was Witchcraft in the Caſe or no: the accuſed Party was not in the leaſt ſenſible of what was done, and therefore in danger of receiving the Puniſhment juſtly due for Witchcraft; only it ſo happened, that Coilonel *Fenwick* (that worthy Gentleman, who many years ſince lived in *New England*) was then the Military Governour in that Town; he ſent for the Mayor and Magiſtrates adviſing them to be careful and cautious in their proceedings; for he told them, it might be an Inchanted Pin, which the Witch-finder made uſe of: Whereupon the Magiſtrates of the place ordered that he ſhould make his Experiment with ſome other Pin as they ſhould appoint: But that he would by no means be induced unto, which was a ſufficient

(s) Ubi Supra.

ent Discovery of the Knavery and Witchery of the Witch-finder. There is a strange Diabolical Energy goeth along with *Incantations*. If *Balak* had not known, that he would not have sent for *Balaam*, to see whether he could inchant the Children of *Israel*. The Scripture intimates that Inchantments will keep a Serpent from biting, *Eccles.* 10. 11. A Witch in *Sweedland* confessed, that the Devil gave her a wooden Knife; and that if she did but touch any living thing with that Knife, it would die immediately: And that there is a wonderful Power of the Devil attending things inchanted, we have confirmed by a prodigious Instance in Major *Weir*, a *Scotch* Man: That wretched Man was a perfect Prodigy; a Man of great Parts; esteemed a Saint, yet lived in secret Uncleanness with his own Sister for thirty four Years together: After his wickedness was discovered, he did not seem to be troubled at any of his Crimes, excepting that he had caused a poor Woman to be publickly whipped, because she reported that she had seen him committing Bestiality; which thing was true, only the Woman could not prove it. This horrid Creature, if he had his *Inchanted Staff* in his Hand could pray to admiration, and do extraordinary things, as is more amply related in the Postscript to Mr. *Sinclares* his Book before mentioned: But if he had not his Inchanted Rod to lean upon, he could not transform himself into an Angel of Light: But by all these things we may conclude, that it is not impossible, but that a guilty Conjurer, that so he may render himself the less suspected, may by his Magical Art and Inchantment, cause innocent Persons to be represented as afflicting those whom the Devil and himself are the Tormentors of.

Arg 5. *The Truth we affirm is so evident, as that many Learned and Judicious Men have freely subscribed unto it.*

The memorable Relation of the Devils assuming the shape of an innocent Citizen in *Zurick*, is in the Judgment of that great Divine *Lud Levater*, of weighty Consideration: And he declares, that he does therefore mention it, that so Judges might be cautelous in their Proceedings in Cases of this nature, inasmuch as the Devil does often in that way intangle innocent Persons, and bring them into great Troubles. His Words are, (s) *Hanc Historiam ideo recito, ut Judices, in hujusmodi, Casibus cauti sint: Diabolus enim hac via sape innocentibus insidiatur.* He confirms what he saith by reciting a Passage out of *Alertus Granzius*, who writes that the Devil

(s) *De Spectris*, p. 86, 87.

vil was ſeen in the ſhape of a Nobleman to come out of the Empreſs's Chamber: But to clear her Innocency, ſhe (according to the ſuperſtitious *Ordeals* then in faſhion) walked blinfold over a great many of glowing hot Irons without touching any of them. *Voetius* in his (*u*) Diſputation of *Spectres* propoſeth that Queſtion, whether the Devil may not untruly perſonate a Godly Man, and anſwers in the Affirmative: And withal adds, that it is a ſufficient Argument (*ad hominem*) to anſwer the Papiſts with their own Hiſtories, which give Inſtances of Satan's appearing in the Figure of Saints, nay of Chriſt himſelf. And in his Diſcourſe concerning the *Operations of Dæmons* (*w*) he has the like *Problem*, whether the Devil may not poſſibly put on the ſhape of a true Believer, a real Saint, not only of ſuch as are dead, but ſtill living, and anſwers, *Quidni?* Why not? It is true Popiſh *Caſuiſts* (*x*) do generally incline to the Negative in this Queſtion: Nevertheleſs, the Inſtance of *Germanus*, who ſaw a Company of honeſt People repreſented by the Devil, as if they had been feaſting together, when they were really aſleep in their Beds, does a little puzzle them, ſo as that they are neceſſitated to take up with this Concluſion, (*y*) *That by an extraordinary Permiſſion of God, innocent Perſons may be repreſented by Satan in the Nocturnal Conventicles of Witches:* And if ſo, much more as afflicting bewitched Perſons. *Delrio* giveth an account of an innocent Monk, whoſe Reputation was indangered by a *Dæmon*'s appearing in his ſhape. He writes more like a Divine than Jeſuits uſe to do, when he ſaith that, (*z*) *It is not abſolutely to be denied, but that the Devils may exhibite the Forms of innocent Perſons, if God permit it, who when he does permit it, uſually by ſome Providence diſcovers the Fraud of the Devils, that ſo the Innocent may be vindicated, or if not, it is to bring them to repentance for ſome Sin, or to try their Patience.* It is rare to ſee ſuch Words dropping from the Pen of a Jeſuit: As for Proteſtant Writers, I cannot call to mind one of any Note, that does deny the Poſſibility of the Affirmative, in the Queſtion before us. Dr. *Henkelius* has lately (*a*) publiſhed a learned and elaborate Diſcourſe concerning the right Method of curing ſuch as are obſeſſed with *Cacodæmons*, in which he aſſerts, that *Satan may poſſibly aſſume the Form of innocent and pious Perſons, that ſo he might thereby deſtroy their Reputations, and expoſe them to undue Puniſhments.* As for our *Engliſh* Divines, there are not many greater *Caſuiſts* than Mr. *Perkins*; nor do I know any one that has written on the Caſe of Witchcraft with more Judgment and Clearneſs of Underſtanding: He

(*u*) *Diſput Select. Vol.* 1. pag. 108.

(*w*) P. 944.

(*x*) *Thyræus de Apparitionibus*, Lib. 2. *Cap.* 14.

(*y*) *Binsfield de confeſſionibus ſagarum*, p. 183. 191.

(*z*) *Diſquiſ. Magic. Lib.* 2. *Q.* 12. p. 143.

(*a*) Printed at *Frankford*, *Anno*, 1689.

He has these Words, (b) "If a Man being dangerously sick and "like to die upon suspicion, will take it on his death, that such "an one has bewitched him, it is an allegation which may move "the Judge to examine the Party, but it is of no moment for "Conviction. The like is asserted by (c) Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Bernard*, (once a famous Minister at *Batcomb* in *Somerset*) his Book called, *A Guide to Grand Jury-men in Cases of Witchcraft*, is a solid and wise Treatise. What his Judgment was in the Case now under debate, we may see, *pag.* 209, 210. where his Words are these; "An Apparition of the Party suspected, whom the Afflicted in "their Fits seem to see, is a great suspicion; yet this is but a Pre-"sumption, tho' a strong one, because these Apparitions are "wrought by the Devil, who can represent to the Phansie such "as the Parties use to fear, in which his Representation he may "well lye as in his other Witness: For if the Devil can represent to "the Witch seeming *Samuel*, saying, I see God's ascending out of "the Earth, to beguile *Saul*, may we not think he can represent "a common ordinary Person, Man or Woman unregenerate, t "no Witch to the Phansie of vain Persons, to deceive them an "others that will give Credit to the Devil. Thus Mr. *Bernard*.

(b) Discourse of Witchcraft, *Ch* 7. *Sect*. 2. *p*. 644

(c) In his Witchcraft discovered, p. 277.

As for the Judgment of the Elders in *New-England*, so far as I can learn, they do generally concur with Mr. *Perkins*, and Mr. *Bernard*. This I know, that at a Meeting of Ministers at *Cambridge*, *August* 1. 1692. where were present seven Elders besides the President of the *Colledge*, the Question then discoursed on, was, *Whether the Devil may not sometimes have a Permission to represent an innocent Person as tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestations*? The Answer which they all concurred in, was in these words, *viz. That the Devil may sometimes have a Permission to represent an innocent Person as tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestations; but that such things are rare and extraordinary, especially when such Matters come before Civil Judicatures*: And that some of the most eminent Ministers in the Land, who were not at that Meeting are of the same Judgment, I am assured: And I am also sure, that in Cases of this nature the *Priest's Lips should keep Knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his Mouth*, Mal. 2. 7.

Arg. 6. *Our own Experience has confirmed the Truth of what we affirm.*

I have in another Book given an account concerning *Elizabeth Knap* of *Groton*, who complained that a Woman as eminent for Piety as any in that Town, did appear to her, and afflict her: But afterwards she was satisfied that that Person never did her any harm, but that the Devil abused them both. About two Years ago, a bewitched Person in *Chelmsford* in her Fits, complained that a worthy good Man, a near Relation of hers did afflict her: So did she likewise complain of another Person in that Town of known Integrity and Piety.

I have my self known several of whom I ought to think that they are now in Heaven, considering that they were of good Conversation, and reputed Pious by those that had the greatest Intimacy with them, of whom nevertheless, some complained that their Shapes appeared to them, and threatned them: Nor is this answered by saying, we do not know but those Persons might be Witches: We are bound by the Rule of Charity to think otherwise: And they that censure any, meerly because such a sad Affliction as their being falsly represented by Satan has befallen them, do not do as they would be done by. I bless the Lord, it was never the Portion allotted to me, nor to any Relation of mine to be thus abused: But no Man knoweth what may happen to him, since *there be just Men unto whom it happeneth according to the Work of the Wicked*, Eccles. 8. 14. But what needs more to be said, since there is one amongst our selves whom no Man that knows him, can think him to be a Wizzard, whom yet some bewitched Persons complained of, that they are in his Shape tormented: And the Devils have of late accused some eminent Persons.

It is an awful thing which the Lord has done to convince some amongst us of their Error: This then I declare and testifie, that to take away the Life of any one, meerly because a *Spectre* or Devil, in a bewitched or possessed Person does accuse them, will bring the Guilt of innocent Blood on the Land, where such a thing shall be done: Mercy forbid that it should, (and I trust that as it has not it never will be so) in *New-England*. What does such an Evidence amount unto more than this: Either such an one did afflict such an one, or the Devil in his likeness, or his Eyes were bewitched.

The things which have been mentioned make way for, and bring us unto the second Case, which is to come under our Consideration, *viz.*

If

If one bewitched is struck down at the Look or cast of the Eye of another, and after that recovered again by a Touch from the same Person, Is not this an infallible Proof, that the Person suspected and complained of is in League with the Devil?

Answer; It must be owned that by such things as these Witchcrafts and Witches have been discovered more than once or twice: And that an ill Fame, or other Circumstances attending the suspected Party, this may be a Ground for Examination; but this alone does not afford sufficient Matter for Conviction: As *Spectres* or *Devils* appearing in the Shapes of Men that have been murdered, declaring that they were murdered by such Persons and in such a place, may give just occasion to the Magistrate for Enquiry into the Matter: One great Witch-Advocate (*d*) confesseth, that by this means Murders have been brought to light; yet that alone, if other Circumstances did not concur, would not by the Law of God take away the Life of any Man. If my Reader pleaseth, he shall hear what old Mr. *Bernard* of *Batcomb* saith to a Case not unlike to this, and the former: His Words are these, (*e*)

(*d*) *Welster's displaying of supposed Witchcraft, p.* 298, 308.

(*e*) *Ubi supra. p.* 207, 208.

'The naming of the suspected in their Fits, and also where they 'have been, and what they have done here or there, as Mr. *Throgmor-* 'ton's Children could do, and that often and ever found true; this 'is a great Presumption: yet is this but a Presumption, because this is 'only the Devils Testimony, who can lie, and that more often 'than speak Truth. Christ would not allow his Witness of him in a 'point most true; nor St. *Paul* in the due Praises of him and *Sy-* 'las; his Witness then may not be received as sufficient in case of 'ones Life: He may accuse an Innocent, as I shewed before in 'Mr. *Edmund's* giving over his Practice to find Stollen Goods; and 'Satan we read would accuse *Job* to God himself to be an Hy-'pocrite, and to be ready to be a Blasphemer, and he is called the 'Accuser of the Brethren. Albeit, I cannot deny but this has 'very often proved true, yet seeing the Devil is such an one as 'you heard, Christian Men should not take his Witness, to give 'in Verdict upon Oath, and so swear that the Devil has therein 'spoken the Truth; be it far from good men to confirm any 'Word of the Devil by Oath, if it be not an evident Truth 'without the Devil's Testimony, who in speaking the Truth, has 'a lying Intent, and speaks some Truths of things done, which 'may be found to be so, that he may wrap with them some 'pernicious Lye, which cannot be tried to be true, but must 'rest upon his own testimony to ensnare the Blood of the Inno-

'cent.

'cent. Thus Mr. *Bernard* reſolved the Caſe above ſixty Years ago; and truly in my Opinion like a Wiſe and Orthodox Divine, what he ſays, reacheth both this and the former Caſe. Dr. *Cotta* (a Learned Phyſician) in his Book, about *The Tryal of Witchcraft, ſhewing the true and right Method of the Diſcovery, with a Confutation Erroneous ways* (which Book he dedicates to the Right Honourable Sir *Edward Cook*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* (*f*) He diſcourſes concerning *Exploration of Witches by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched*, and ſheweth the Fallibility and Vanity of that way of Tryal, tho' he had often ſeen Perſons bewitched in that way immediately delivered from the preſent Fit or Agony which was upon them: But he taketh it to be a Diabolical Miracle. He argueth thus, (*g*) 'No Man can doubt but that the Vertue 'wherewith this touch was indued, is ſupernatural: If it be ſo, 'How can Man to whom nothing is ſimply poſſible that is not na- 'tural be juſtly reputed an Agent therein? If he cannot be eſteem- 'ed in himſelf any poſſible or true Agent, then it remaineth that 'he can only be intereſſed therein as an Acceſſary in Conſent, 'or as a Servant unto a Superior Power: If that Superior Power 'be the Devil, the leaſt reaſonable doubt, whether the Devil alone, 'or with the Conſent or Contract of the ſuſpected Perſon has 'produced that wonderful effect; with what Religion or Reaſon 'can any Man incline rather to credit the Devil's mouth in the 'Bewitched, than to pity the Accuſed, and believe them againſt 'the ſubtilty of a deceitful Devil: If the Devil by Divine Per- 'miſſion may cauſe ſupernatural Concomitances and Conſequences 'to attend the natural Actions of Men without their allowance, 'as is manifeſt in poſſeſſed Perſons, how is it reaſonable and juſt 'that the Impoſitions of the Devil ſhould be imputed unto any 'Man: And (ſaith he) God forbid that the Devil's Signs and 'Wonders, nay his Truths ſhould become any legal Allegations 'or Evidences in Law. We may therefore conclude it unjuſt, 'that the forenamed miraculous Effect by the Devil wrought and 'imputed by the Bewitched, ſhould be eſteemed an infallible 'mark againſt any Man, as therefore convinced for that the De- 'vil and the Bewitched have ſo decyphered him? Thus that Learned Man. But to the Caſe in hand, I have ſeveral things to offer.

(*f*) Ch. 15. p. 14, &c.

(*g*) Pag. 121, 122.

1. *It is possible that the Persons in Question may be possessed with Cacodæmons*: That bewitched Persons are many times really possessed with evil Spirits, is most certain. And as Mr. *Perkins* observes, no Man can prove but that Witchcraft might be the Cause of many of those Possessions, which we read of in the Gospel: And that Devils have been immitted into the Bodies of miserable Creatures by Magicians and Witches, Histories and Experience do abundantly testifie. *Hierom* (*h*) relates concerning a certain Virgin, that a young Man, whose Amours she despised, prevailed with a Magician to send an evil Spirit into her, by means whereof she was strangely besotted. 'Tis reported (*i*) of *Simon Magus*, that after he had used an Hellish Sacrifice, to be revenged of some that had called him a great Witch, he caused infernal Spirits to enter into them. Many confessing Witches have acknowledged, that they were the Cause of such and such Persons being possessed by evil Angels, as (*k*) *Thyæus* and others have observed: Now no Credit ought to be given to what *Dæmons* in such as are by them obsessed shall say. Our Saviour by his own unerring Example has taught us not to receive the Devil's Testimony in any thing. The Papists are justly condemned for bringing Diabolical Testimony to confirm the Principles of their Religion. *Peter Cotton* the Jesuite (*l*) enquired of the Devil in a possessed Person, what was the cleerest Scripture to prove Purgatory. At the time when *Luther* died, all the possessed People in the *Netherlands* were quiet: The Devils in them, said the Reason was, because *Luther* (*m*) had been a great Friend of theirs, and they owed him that respect as to go as far as *Germany* to attend his Funeral. Another time when there was a talk of some Ministers of the Reformed Religion, the Devils in the Obsessed laughed and said, they were not at all afraid of them, for the *Calvinists* and they were very good Friends. The Jesuits insult with these Testimonies as if they were Divine Oracles: But the Father of Lyes is never to be believed: He will utter twenty great truths to make way for one lye: He will accuse twenty Witches, if he can but thereby bring one innocent Person into trouble: He mixeth Truths with Lyes, that so those truths giving credit unto lyes, Men may believe both, and so be deceived: And whereas some say, that the Persons in question are only bewitched and not possessed, let it be considered that possessed Persons are called *Energumens*

(*h*) *In vita Hilarion.*

(*i*) *Anastasium* Q. 23.

(*k*) In Dispt. de *Dæmoniacis*, part 1. chap. 16. p. 30

(*l*) *Thuanus* lib. 130. p. 1136.

(*m*) *Thyæus ubi supra*, p. 16.

gumens from EPLOMAI *Agitor*: They whose Bodies are prenaturally agitated, so as to be in danger of being thrown into the Fire, or into the Water, though they may be bewitched, are undoubtedly possessed with *Dæmons*, *Mark* 9. 22, 25. Learned Men (*a*) give it as a most certain sign of Possession, when the afflicted Party can see and hear that which no one else can discern any thing of, and when they can discover (†) secret things, *Acts* 6. 16. past, or future, (*b*) as a possessed Person in *Germany* foretold the War which broke out in the Year, 1546. And when the Limbs of miserable Creatures are bent and disjointed so as could not possible be without a Luxation of Joints, were it not done by a preternatural Hand, and yet no hurt raised thereby that argueth Possession. Also, when Persons are by the Devil cast into Fits, in the which they speak of things, that afterwards they have no remembrance of (*c*) or, if they are by cruel Devils tortured, so as to cause horrendous Clamours in the distressed Sufferers, that's another sign of Obsession by evil Spirits: If all these things concur in the Persons concerning where the Question is, we may conclude them to be *Dæmoniacks*: And if so, no *Juror* can with a safe Conscience look on the Testimony of such, as sufficient to take away the Life of any Man.

(*a*) *Henkel ubi supra*, p. 47 50.
(†) *Brockmand Theol.* p 265.
(*b*) *Melancthon* Epist.
(*c*) *Tostatus* in Mat 8. Q. 114.

2. *Falling down by the cast of an Eye proceeds not from a natural, but an arbitrary Cause*; not from any Poyson in the Eye of the Witch, but from the Agency of some *Dæmon*: The opinion of Fascination by the Eye is an old Fable, and (saith Mr. *Perkins*) as fond as old. *Pliny* (*e*) speaks of a People that killed folks by looking on them; and he adds, that they had two Apples in each Eye: and *Tully* writes of women who had two Apples in one Eye that always did mischief with their meer Looks; so *Ovid*, *Popula duplex fulminat*. And *Plutarch* (*f*) writes, that some persons have such a Poyson in their Eyes, as that their Friends and Familiars are Fascinated thereby; nay he speaks of one that Bewitched himself sick by looking on his own Face in a Glass: Others write of Fascination by a meer Prolation of Words; and for ought I know, there may be as much Witchery in the Tongue as there is in the Eye. *Sennertus* (*g*) has discovered the Superstition of these Fancies; Sight does not proceed from an Emission of Rays from the Eye, but by a reception of the visible Species; and if it be (as Philosophers conclude) an innocent Action

(*d*) *Baldwin* Case of Cons. l. 3. c. 3. p. 621.
(*e*) Lib. 7. Cap. 2.
(*f*) 5 *Sympos.* cap. 7.
(*g*) *Med. preol.* lib. 6. pars 9. cap. 1.

and not an Emission optick Spirits, so that Sight as such, does receive something from the Object, and not act upon it, the Notion of Fascination by the Eye is unphilosophical: It is true, that sore Eyes will affect those that look upon them, *Dum spectant Oculi Læsos, Leduntur & ipsi,* for which a natural Reason is easily to be assigned; but if the Witches Eyes are thus infected with a natural Contagion, Whence is it, that only Bewitched Persons are hurt thereby? If the vulgar Error concerning the *Basiliusks* killing with the Look of his Poysonful Eye were a Truth, whatever person that Serpent cast his Eye upon would be poysoned. So if Witches had a physical Venom in their Eyes, others as well as Fascinated Persons would be sensible thereof; there is as much Truth in this fancy of Physical Venom in the Eye of a Witch, as there is in what *Pliny* (†) and others relate concerning the *Thibians, viz.* that they have two Apples in one Eye, and the Effigies of an Horse in the other Eye; and that they are a people that cannot be drowned.

(†) Lib. 2. cap. 2. *Wierus* l. 6. c. 9. p. 683.

3. *As for that which concerns the Bewitched Persons being recovered out of their Agonies by the Touch of the suspected Party, it is various and fallible.*

For sometimes the afflicted Person is made sick, (instead of being made whole) by the Touch of the Accused; sometimes the Power of Imagination is such, as that the Touch of a Person innocent and not accused shall have the same effect. It is related in the Account of the Tryals of Witches at *Bury* in *Suffolk* 1664, during the time (*r*) of the Tryal, there were some Experiments made with the Persons afflicted, by bringing the accused to touch them, and it was observed that by the least Touch of one of the supposed Witches, they that were in their Fits, to all mens Apprehension wholly deprived of all Sense and Understandings, would suddenly shriek out and open their Hands.

(*r*) See the Tryal, p. 40. 43. 45.

Mr. Serjeant *Keeling* did not think that sufficient to Convict the Prisoners, for admitting that the Children were in truth Bewitched, yet (saith he) it cannot be applyed to the Prisoners upon the Imagination only of the Parties afflicted; for if that might be allowed, no Person whatsoever can be in safety, for perhaps they might fancy another Person who might altogether be innocent in such matters: To avoid this Scruple it was privately desired by the Judge, that some Gentlemen there in Court would attend one of the distempered Persons in the farther part of the Hall, whilst she

was

was in her Fits, and then to ſend for one of the Witches to try what would happen, which they did accordingly. One of them was conveyed from the Bar, and brought to the Afflicted Maid. They put an Apron before her Eyes, and then another perſon (not the Witch) touched her, which produced the ſame effect, as the Touch of the Witch did in the Court. Whereupon the Gentlemen returned much unſatisfied. *Bodin* (*s*) relates, that a Witch who was Tryed at *Nants*, was commanded by the Judges to touch a Bewitched perſon, a thing often practiſed by the Judges of *Germany* in the *Imperial Chamber*. The Witch was extreamly unwilling, but being Compelled by the Judges, ſhe cryed out, *I am undone*; and as ſoon as ever ſhe touched the Afflicted perſon, the Witch fell down dead, and the other recovered. That horrid Witch of *Salisbury*, *Ann Bodenham* (*t*) who had been Servant to the Notorious Conjurer Dr. *Lamb*, could not bear the ſight of one that was Bewitched by her. As ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw the Afflicted Perſon, ſhe ran about ſhrieking, and crying, and roaring after an hideous manner, that the Devil would tear her in pieces, if that perſon came near her. And whilſt the Witch was in ſuch Torment, the Bewitched was at eaſe. By theſe things we ſee, that the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of darkneſs, are not always and in all places the ſame.

(*s*) In *Dæmonomania*. See Mr. *Bromhal's* Hiſtory of Apparitions, p. 136.

(*t*) See the Printed Relation, p. 30, 31.

And it is good for men to concern themſelves with them as little as may be.

I think there is weight in Dr. *Cotta's* (*u*) Argument, *viz.* *That the Gift of healing the Sick and Poſſeſſed, was a Special Grace and Favour of God, for the Confirmation of the Truth of the Goſpel, but that ſuch a Gift ſhould be annexed to the Touch of Wicked Witches, as an infallible ſign of their guilt, is not eaſie to be believed.* It is a thing well known, that if a perſon poſſeſſed by an Evil Spirit, is (as oft it ſo happens) never ſo outragious whilſt a good man is Praying with and for the Afflicted, let him lay his hand on them, and the Evil Spirit is quiet. I hope this is no evidence of any Covenant, or voluntary Communion between the Good Man that is Praying and the Evil Spirit; no more does the Caſe before us evince any ſuch thing.

(*u*) Ubi ſupra, p. 121.

4. *There are that Queſtion the Lawfulneſs of the Experiment.* For if this healing power in the Witch is not a Divine but a Diabolical Gift, it may be dangerous to meddle too much with it. If the Witch may be ordered to touch afflicted Perſons in order to their

their healing or recovery out of a ſick Fit, why may not the Diſeaſed Perſon be as well ordered to touch the Witch for the ſame cauſe? And if to touch him, why not to ſcratch him and fetch Blood out of him, which is but an harder kind of touch? But as for this Mr. *Perkins* doubts not to call it *a Practice of Witchcraft.* It is not ſafe to meddle with any of the Devils Sacraments or Inſtitutions; *For my own part, I ſhould be loath to ſay to a Man, that I knew or thought it was a Witch, do you look on ſuch a Perſon, and ſee if you can Witch them into a Fit, and there is ſuch an afflicted Perſon do you take them by the Hand, and ſee if you can Witch them well again. If it is by vertue of ſome Contract with the Devil that Witches have Power to do ſuch things, it is hard to conceive how they can be bid to do them, without being too much concerned in that Helliſh Covenant.* I take it to be (as elſewhere (*w*) I have expreſſed) a ſolid Principle, which the Learned *Sennertus* inſiſts on, *viz. That they who force another to do that which he cannot poſſibly do, but by vertue of a Compact with the Devil, have themſelves implicitely Communion with the Diabolical Covenant.* The Devil is pleaſed and honoured when any of his Inſtitutions are made uſe of; this way of diſcovering Witches, is no better than that of putting the Urine of the afflicted Perſon into a Bottle, that ſo the Witch may be tormented and diſcovered: The Vanity and Superſtition of which practice I have formerly ſhewed, and teſtified againſt. *There was a Conjurer his name was* Edward Drake (*x*) *who taught a Man to uſe that Experiment for the Relief of his afflicted Daughter, who found benefit thereby*; But we ought not to practice Witchcrafts to diſcover Witches, nor may we make uſe of a *White healing Witch* (as they call them) to find out a *Black and Bloody one.* And how did men firſt come to know that Witches would be diſcovered in ſuch ways as theſe, which have been mentioned? If Satan himſelf were the firſt Diſcoverer (as there is reaſon to believe) the experiment muſt needs have deceit in it. See Dr. *Willet* on *Exod.* 7. *Queſt.* 9. And ſuch Experiments better become Pagans or Papiſts than Profeſſors in *New England*; whereas 'tis pleaded, that ſuch things are practiſed by the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, I reply, that thoſe Judges (as *Bodia* relates, *Lib.* 3. *Dæmon. Cap.* 6.) have required ſuſpected Witches to pronounce over the afflicted perſons, theſe words, *I bleſs thee in the Name of the Father, &c.* upon which they have immediately recovered; but is the dark day come upon us, that ſuch Superſtitions as theſe ſhall be practiſed in *New-*

(w) Remarkable Providences, p. 267.

(x) See Mr. *Burton's* Hiſtory of Demons p. 136. and Mr. *Robert's* Nat. of the Witches in *Suffolk.*

New-England: The Lord Jesus forbid it. See *Baldwin*'s Testimony against the Practice of the *Camera Imperialis*, Cas. Consc. L. 3. c. 3. p. 634.

5. *If the Testimony of a bewitched or possessed Person, is of Validity as to what they see done to themselves, then it is so as to others, whom they see afflicted no less than themselves*: But what they affirm concerning others, is not to be taken for Evidence. Whence had they this Supernatural Sight? It must needs be either from Heaven or from Hell: If from Heaven, (as *Elisha*'s Servant, and *Balaam*'s Ass could discern Angels) let their Testimony be received: But if they had this Knowledge from Hell, tho' there may possibly be truth in what they affirm, they are not legal Witnesses: For the Law of God allows of no Revelation from any other Spirit but himself, *Isa.* 8. 19. It is a Sin against God to make use of the Devil's help to know that which cannot be otherwise known: And I testifie against it, as a great Transgression, which may justly provoke the Holy One of *Israel*, to let loose Devils on the whole Land, *Luke* 4. 35. See Mr. *Bernard*'s Guide to Juries in Cases of Witchcraft, *p.* 136, 137, 138. And *Brochmand Theol. de Angelis*, p. 227. Altho' the Devil's Accusations may be so far regarded as to cause an enquiry into the truth of things, *Job* 1. 11, 12. & 2. 5, 6. yet not so as to be an Evidence or Ground of Conviction: The Persons, concerning whom the Question is, see things through Diabolical Mediums; on which account their Evidence is not meer humane Testimony; and if it be in any part Diabolical, it is not to be owned as Authentick; for the Devil's Testimony ought not to be received neither in whole nor in part. I am told by credible Persons, who say it is certainly true, that a bewitched Person has complained that she was cast into Fits by the Look of a Dog; and that she was no more able to bear the sight of that Dog, than of the Person whom she accused as bewitching her: And that thereupon the Dog was shot to death: This Dog was no Devil; for then they could not have killed him. I suppose no one will say that Dogs are Witches: It remains then that the casting down with the Look is no infallible sign of a Witch.

8. It

8. It has always been said, that it is a difficult thing to find out Witches: But if the Representation of such a Person as afflicting, or the Look or Touch be an infallible proof of the guilt of Witchcraft in the Persons complained of, 'tis the easiest thing in the World to discover them; for it is done to our hand, and there needs no enquiry into the Matter.

9. *Let them say this is an infallible Proof, produce any Word out of the Law of God which does in the least countenance that Assertion:* The Word of God instructs Jurors and Judges to proceed upon clear humane Testimony, *Deut.* 35. 30. But the Word no where giveth us the least Intimation, that every one is a Witch, at whose look the bewitched Person shall fall into Fits; nor yet that any other means should be used for the discovery of Witches, than what may be used for the finding out of Murderers, Adulterers, and other Criminals.

10. Sometimes Antipathies in Nature have strange and unaccountable Effects. I have read of a Man that at the sight of his own Son, who was no Wizzard would fall into Fits. There are that find in their Natures an averseness to some Persons whom they never saw before, of which they can give no better an account than he in *Martial,* concerning *Sabidius.*

Non Amo te Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare.

That some Persons at the sight of Bruit-Creatures, Cats, Spiders, *&c.* Nay, at the sight of Cheeses, Milk, Apples, will fall into Fits, is too well known to be denied. *Pensingius* in his Learned Discourse *De Pulvere Sympathatico,* p. 128. saith, there was one in the City of *Groning* that could not bear the sight of a Swine's Head: And that he knew another who was not able to look on the Picture thereof. *Amatus Lusitanus* speaks of one that at the sight of a Rose would swoon away: This proveth that the falling into a Fit at the sight of another is not always a sign of Witchcraft. It may proceed from Nature, and the Power of Imagination.

To

To conclude; Judicious *Caſuiſts* (†) have determined, that to make uſe of thoſe *Media* to come to the Knowledge of any Matter, which have no ſuch power in them by Nature, nor by Divine Inſtitution is an Implicit going to the Devil to make a diſcovery: Now there is no natural Power in the Look or Touch of a Perſon to bewitch another; nor is this by Divine Inſtitution the means whereby Witchcraft is diſcovered: Therefore it is an unwarrantable Practice.

(†) *Amef. Caſ. Conſc. L. 4. C. 23.*

We proceed now to the third Caſe propoſed to Conſideration; If the things which have been mentioned are not infallible Proofs of Guilt in the accuſed Party, it is then Queried, *Whether there are any Diſcoveries of this Crime, which Jurors and Judges may with a ſafe Conſcience proceed upon to the Conviction and Condemnation of the Perſons under Suſpicion?*

Let me here premiſe Two things,

1. The Evidence in this Crime ought to be as clear as in any other Crimes of a Capital nature. The Word of God does no where intimate, that a leſs clear Evidence, or that fewer or other Witneſſes may be taken as ſufficient to convict a Man of Sorcery, which would not be enough to convict him were he charged with another evil worthy of Death, *Numb.* 35. 30. if we may not take the Oath of a diſtracted Perſon, or of a poſſeſſed Perſon in a Caſe of Murder, Theft, Felony of any ſort, then neither may we do it in the Caſe of Witchcraft.

2. Let me premiſe this alſo, that there have been ways of trying Witches long uſed in many Nations, eſpecially in the dark times of Paganiſm and Popery, which the righteous God never approved of. But which as (judicious Mr. *Perkins* expreſſeth it in plain *Engliſh*) were invented by the Devil, that ſo innocent Perſons might be condemned, and ſome notorious Witches eſcape: Yea, many Superſtitious and Magical experiments have been uſed to try Witches by: Of this ſort is that of ſcratching the Witch, or ſeething the Urine of the bewitched Perſon, or making a Witch-cake with that Urine: And that tryal of putting their Hands into ſcalding Water, to ſee if it will not hurt them: And that of ſticking an Awl under the Seat of the ſuſpected Party, yea, and that way of diſcovering Witches by tying their

Hands and Feet, and casting them on the Water, to try whether they will sink or swim: I did publickly bear my Testimony against this Superstition in a Book printed at *Boston* eight Years past.

I hear that of late some in a Neighbour Colony have been playing with this Diabolical invention: It is to be lamented, that in such a *Land of Uprightness* as *New-England* once was, a Practice which Protestant Writers generally condemn as sinful, and which the more sober and learned Men amongst Papists themselves have not only judged unlawful, but (to express it in their own terms) to be no less than a *Mortal Sin*, should ever be heard of. Were it not that the coming of Christ to judge the Earth draweth near, I should think that such Practices are an unhappy Omen that the Devil and Pagans will get these dark Territories into their Possession again: But that I may not be thought to have no reason for my calling the impleaded Experiment into Question, I have these things further to alledge against it.

1. It has been rejected long agone, by Christian Nations as a thing Superstitious and Diabolical: In *Italy* and *Spain* it is wholly disused; and (*a*) in the *Low-Countries*, and in *France*, where the Judges are Men of Learning. In some parts of *Germany* old *Paganism* Customs are observed more than in other Countries, nevertheless all the (*b*) *Academies* throughout *Germany* have disapproved of this way of Purgation.

(*a*) *Delrio. Disquis. Magic.* pag. 642.

(*b*) *Mildernus de Magia.* cap. 10. *dub.* 11.

2. The Devil is in it, all Superstition is from him; and when Secret things, or latent Crimes, are discovered by superstitious Practices, some Compact and Communion with the Devil is the Cause of it, as *Austin* (*c*) has truly intimated; and so it is here; for if a Witch cannot be drowned, this must proceed either from some natural Cause, which it doth not, for it is against Nature for Humane Bodies, when Hands and Feet are tied, not to sink under the Water: Besides, they that plead for this Superstition, say that if Witches happen to be condemned for some other Crime and not for Witchcraft, they will not swim like a Cork above Water, which Cause sheweth that the Cause of this Natation is not *Physical*: And if not, then either it must proceed from a Divine Miracle to save a Witch from drowning; or lastly, it must be a diabolical Wonder: This superstitious Experiment

(*c*) *De Doctr. Christiana.* Lib. 2. Cap. 20, 22.

ment is commonly known by the Name of, *The Vulgar Probation*, becauſe it was never appointed by any lawful Authority, but from the Suggeſtion of the Devil taken up by the rude Rabble: And ſome (*d*) learned Men are of Opinion, that the firſt *Explorator* (*being a white Witch*) did explicitely covenant with the Devil, that he ſhould diſcover latent Crimes in this way: And that it is by Virtue of that firſt Contract that the Devil goeth to work to keep his Servants from ſinking, when this Ceremony of his ordaining is uſed. Moreover, we know that *Diabolus eſt Dei Simia*, the Devil ſeeks to imitate Divine Miracles. We read in Eccleſiaſtical Story, that ſome of the Martyrs when they were by Perſecutors ordered to be drowned, prov'd to be immerſible: This Miracle would the Devil imitate in cauſing Witches, who are his Martyrs not to ſink when they are caſt into the Waters.

(d) *Delri. & maid rus.*

3. This way of Purgation is of the ſame nature with the old *Ordeals* of the Pagans. If Men were accuſed with any Crime, to clear their innocency, they were to take an hot Iron into their Hands, or to ſuffer ſcalding Water to be poured down their Throats, and if they received no hurt thereby they were acquitted. This was the Devil's Invention, and many times (as the Devil would have it) they that ſubmitted to theſe Tryals ſuffered no inconvenience. Nevertheleſs, it is aſtoniſhing to think what innocent Blood has been ſhed in the World by means of this *Satanical* device. Witches have often (as (*e*) *Sprenger* obſerves) deſired that they might ſtand or fall by this Tryal by hot Iron, and ſometimes come off well: Indeed, this *Ordeal* was uſed in other Caſes, and not in Caſes of Witchcraft only: And ſo was the *the Vulgar Probation* by caſting into the Water practiced upon Perſons accuſed (*f*) with other Crimes as well as that of Witchcraft: How it came to be reſtrained to that of Witchcraft I cannot tell; it is as ſupernatural for a Body whoſe Hands and Feet are tied to ſwim above the Water, as it is for their Hands not to feel a red hot Iron. If the one of theſe *Ordeals* is lawful to be uſed, than ſo is the other too: But as for the fiery *Ordeal* it is rejected and exploded out of the World; for the ſame Reaſon then the tryal by Water ſhould be ſo.

(e) *In malleo malleficarum.* p. 421.

(f) *Menna de purgatione vulgari, cap. ult.*

4. It is a tempting of God when Men put the Innocency of their Fellow-Creatures upon such tryals; to desire the Almighty to shew a Miracle to clear the Innocent, or to convict the Guilty is a most presumptuous tempting of him. Was it not a Miracle when *Peter* was kept from sinking under the Water by the Omnipotency of Christ? As for Satan, we know that his Ambition is to make his Servants believe that his Power is equal to God's, and that therefore he can preserve whom he pleaseth. I have read (*g*) of certain Magicians, who were seen walking on the Water: If then guilty Persons shall float on the Waters, either it is the Devil that causeth them to do so, (as no doubt it is) and what have Men to do to set the Devil on work; or else it is a Divine Miracle, like that of *Peter*'s not sinking, or that of the Iron that swam at the Word of *Elisha*. And shall Men try whether God will work a Miracle to make a discovery? If a Crime cannot be found out but by Miracle, it is not for any Judge on Earth to usurp that Judgment which is reserved for the Divine Throne.

(g) *Cæsarius*, Lib. 9.

5. This pretended Gift of Immersibility attending Witches, is a a most fallible deceitful thing; for many a Witch has sunk under the Water. *Godelmannus* (*h*) giveth an account of six notorious and clearly convicted Witches, that when they were brought to their *vulgar Probation*, sunk down under the Water like other Persons; *Althusius* affirms the like concerning others in the (*i*) *Bohemian* History it is related, that *Uratslaus* the King of *Bohemia*, extirpated Witches out of his Kingdom, some of which he delivered to the Ax, others of them to the Fire, and others of them he caused to be drowned: If Witches are immensible, how came they to die by drowning in *Bohemia*? Besides, it has sometimes been known that Persons who have floated on the Water when the Hangman has made the Experiment on them, have sunk down like a Stone, when others have made the tryal.

(h) *De Lamiis*, L. 3. C. 4.

(i) *Dubravius*, Hist. Cobim. Lib. 8.

6. The Reasons commonly alledged for this Superstition are of no moment: It is said they hate the Water; whereas they have many times desired that they might be cast on the Water in order to their purgation: It is alledged, that Water is used in *Baptism*, therefore Witches swim: A weak Phansie; all the Water in the World

World is not conſecrated Water. Cannot Witches eat Bread or drink Wine, notwithſtanding thoſe Elements are made uſe of in the Bleſſed Sacrament: But (ſay ſome) the Devils by ſucking of them make them ſo light that the Water bears them; whereas ſome Witches are twice as heavy as many an innocent Perſon: Well, but then they are poſſeſſed with the Devil: Suppoſe ſo; Is the Devil afraid if they ſhould ſink, that he ſhould be drowned with them? But why then were the *Gadarens* Hogs drowned when the Devil was in them?

Theſe things being premiſed, I anſwer the Queſtion affirmatively; *There are Proofs for the Conviction of Witches which Jurors may with a ſafe Conſcience proceed upon, ſo as to bring them in guilty.* The Scripture which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live*, clearly implies, that ſome in the World may be known and proved to be Witches: For until they be ſo, they may and muſt be ſuffered to live. Moreover we find in Scripture, that ſome have been convicted and executed for Witches: For *Saul cut off thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizzards out of the Land*, 1 Sam. 28. 9.

It may be wondred that *Saul* who did like him that ſaid, *Flectere ſi nequeo Superos Acherenta Movebo*, ſhould cauſe the Wizzards in the Land to be put to death. The *Jewiſh Rabbies* ſay, the reaſon was, becauſe thoſe Wizzards foretold that *David* ſhould be King. It is (as Mr. *Gaul* (*k*) obſerves) the Opinion of ſome learned Proteſtants, that *Saul* in his Zeal did over do: And that under the Pretext (*l*) of Witches he ſlew the *Gibeonites*, for which that Judgment followed, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. *Neither* (ſaith Mr. *Gaule*) *want we the ſtoried Examples of God's Judgments upon thoſe that defamed, proſecuted and executed them for Witches, that indeed were none.* But we have in the Scripture the Example of a better Man than *Saul* to encourage us to make enquiry after Wizzards and Witches in order to their Conviction and Execution. This did the rareſt King that ever lived cauſe to be done, *viz. Joſiah*, 2 *Kings* 23. 24. *The Workers with familiar Spirits and the Wizzards, that were ſpied in the Land of* Judah, *did* Joſiah *put away, that he might perform the Words of the Law.* It ſeems there were ſome that ſought to hide thoſe Workers of Iniquity, but that incomparable King ſpied them out, and rid the Land and the World of them.

(*k*) In his Caſes about Witchcraft, p. 181.

(*l*) So Dr. *Wilde* conjectures on 1 *Sam.* 21. 1.

Q. But

Q. But then the Enquiry is, *What is sufficient Proof?*

A. This Case has been with great Judgment answered by several Divines of our own, particularly by Mr. *Perkins*, and Mr. *Bernard*; also Mr. *John Gaul* a worthy Minister at *Staughton*, in the County of *Huntington*, has published a very Judicious Discourse, called, *Select Cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcrafts*, Printed at *London* A. D. 1646. wherein he does with great Prudence and Evidence of Scripture light handle this and other Cases: Such Jurors as can obtain those Books, I would advise them to read, and seriously as in the fear of God to consider them, and so far as they keep to the Law and to the Testimony, and speak according to that Word, receive the Light which is in them. But the Books being now rare to be had, let me express my Concurrence with them in these two particulars.

1. *That a free and voluntary Confession of the Crime made by the Person suspected and accused after Examination, is a sufficient Ground of Conviction.*

Indeed, if Persons are Distracted, or under the Power of *Phrenetick Melancholy*, that alters the Case; but the Jurors that examine them, and their Neighbours that know them, may easily determine that Case; or if Confession be (*m*) extorted, the Evidence is not so clear and convictive; but if any Persons out of Remorse of Conscience, or from a Touch of God on their Spirits, confess and shew their Deeds, as the Converted Magicians in *Ephesus* did, *Acts* 19. 18, 19. nothing can be more clear. Suppose a Man to be suspected for Murder, or for committing a Rape, or the like nefandous Wickedness, if he does freely confess the Accusation, that's ground enough to Condemn him. The Scripture approveth of Judging the wicked Servant out of his own Mouth, *Luke* 19. 22. It is by some objected, that Persons in Discontent may falsly accuse themselves. I say, if they do so, and it cannot be proved that they are false Accusers of themselves, they ought to dye for their Wickedness, and their Blood will be upon their own Heads; the Jury, the Judges, and the Land is clear: I have read a very sad and amazing, and yet a true Story to this purpose.

(*m*) *V. Bodin Dæmonomania*, L. 4.

There

There was in the Year 1649, in a Town called *Lauder* in *Scotland*, a certain woman accuſed and impriſoned on ſuſpicion of Witchcraft, when others in the ſame Priſon with her were Convicted, and their Execution ordered to be on the Monday following, ſhe deſired to ſpeak with a Miniſter, to whom ſhe declared freely that ſhe was guilty of Witchcraft, acknowledging alſo many other Crimes committed by her, deſiring that ſhe might die with the reſt: She ſaid particularly that ſhe had Covenanted with the Devil, and was become his Servant about twenty years before, and that he kiſſed her and gave her a Name, but that ſince he had never owned her. Several Miniſters who were jealous that ſhe accuſed herſelf untruly, charged it on her Conſcience, telling her that they doubted ſhe was under a Temptation of the Devil to deſtroy her own Body and Soul, and adjuring her in the Name of God to declare the Truth: Notwithſtanding all this, ſhe ſtifly adhered to what ſhe had ſaid, and was on Monday morning Condemned, and ordered to be Executed that day. When ſhe came to the place of Execution, ſhe was ſilent until the Prayers were ended, then going to the Stake where ſhe was to be Burnt, ſhe thus expreſſed herſelf, *All you that ſee me this day! Know ye that I am to die as a Witch, by my own Confeſſion! and I free all Men, eſpecially the Miniſters and Magiſtrates, from the guilt of my Blood, I take it wholly on my ſelf, and as I muſt make anſwer to the God of Heaven, I declare I am as free from Witchcraft as any Child, but being accuſed by a Malicious Woman, and Impriſoned under the Name of a Witch, my Husband and Friends diſowned me, and ſeeing no hope of ever being in Credit again, through the Temptation of the Devil, I made that Confeſſion to deſtroy my own Life, being weary of it, and chuſing rather to Die than to Live.* This her lamentable Speech did aſtoniſh all the Spectators, few of whom could refrain from Tears. The Truth of this Relation (ſaith my (*n*) Author) is certainly atteſted by a worthy Divine now living, who was an Eye and an Ear-Witneſs of the whole matter; but thus did that miſerable Creature ſuffer Death, and this was a juſt Execution. When the *Amalakite* confeſſed that he killed *Saul*, whom he had no legal Authority to meddle with, although 'tis probable that he belyed himſelf, *David* gave order for hiis Execution, and ſaid to him, *Thy Blood be upon thy Head, for thy Mouth hath Teſtified againſt thee*, 2 Sam. 1. 16. But as for the Teſtimony of Confeſſing Witches againſt others, the caſe is not ſo clear as againſt themſelves,

(*n*) Mr. *Sinclare* Inviſible World. p. 45. and *Burton* Hiſt. of Dæmons, p. 122.

selves, they are not such credible Witnesses, as in a Case of Life and Death is to be desired: It is beyond dispute, that the Devil makes his Witches to dream strange things of themselves and others which are not so. There was (as Authors beyond Exception relate) in appearance a sumptuous Feast prepared, the Wine and Meat set forth in Vessels of Gold; a certain Person whom an amorous young Man had fallen in Love with, was represented and supposed to be really there; but *Apollonius Tyanæus* (o) discovered the Witchery of the Business, and in an instance all vanished, and nothing but dirty Coals were to be seen: The like to this is mentioned in the *Arausican* Council. There were certain Women that imagined they road upon Beasts in the Night, and that they had *Diana* and *Herodius* in company with them, besides a Troop of other Persons; the Council giveth this Sentence on it; *Satanas qui se transfigurat in Angelum Lucis, transformat se in diversarum personarum species, & mentem quam captivam tenet, in somnis deludit.* Satan transforms himself into the likeness of divers Persons, and deludes the Souls that are his Captives with Dreams and Fancies; see Dr. *Willet* on 1 *Sam.* 28. *p.* 165. What Credit can be given to those that say they can turn Men into Horses? If so, they can as well turn Horses into Men; but all the Witches on Earth in Conjunction with all the Devils in Hell, can never make or unmake a rational Soul, and then they cannot transform a Bruit into a Man, nor a Man into a Bruit; so that this Transmutation is fantastical. The Devil may and often does impose on the Imaginations of his Witches and Vassals, that they believe themselves to be be Converted into Beasts, and reverted into Men again; as *Nebuchadnezzar* whilst under the Power of a Dæmon really imagined himself to be an Ox, and would lye out of Doors and eat Grass: The Devil has inflicted on many a Man the Disease called *Lycanthropia*, from whence they have made lamentable Complaints of their being Wolves: In a word, there is no more Reality in what many Witches confess of strange things seen or done by them, whilst Satan had them in his full Power, than there is in *Lucian*'s ridiculous Fable of his being Bewitched into an *Asse*, and what strange Feats he then played; so that what such persons relate concerning Persons and Things at Witch-meetings, ought not to be received with too much Credulity.

(o) Boisard in vita Apollonii.

I could

I could mention dismal Instances of Innocent Blood which has been shed by means of the Lies of some Confessing Witches; there is a very sad Story mentioned in the Preface to the Relation of the Witchcrafts in *Sweedland*, how that in the Year 1676, at *Stockholm*, a young Woman accused her own Mother (who had indeed been a very bad Woman, but not guilty of Witchcraft,) and Swore that she had carried her to the Nocturnal Meetings of Witches, upon which the Mother was burnt to Death. Soon after the Daughter came crying and howling before the Judges in open Court, declaring, that to be revenged on her Mother for an Offence received, she had falsely accused her with a Crime which she was not guilty of; for which she also was justly Executed. A most wicked Man in *France* freely confessed himself to be a Magician, and accused many others, whose Lives were thereupon taken from them; and a whole Province had like to have been ruined thereby, but the Impostor was discovered: The Confessing pretended Wizzard was burnt at *Paris* in the year 1668. I shall only take notice further of an awful Example mentioned by A. B. *Spotswood* in his History of *Scotland*, p. 449. His words are these, 'This Summer (*viz.* Anno 1597.) there was 'a great business for the Tryal of Witches, amongst others, one '*Margaret Atkin* being apprehended on suspicion, and threatned 'with Torture, did confess herself Guilty; being examined 'touching her Associates in that Trade, she named a few, and 'perceiving her Delations find Credit, made offer to detect all of 'that sort, and to purge the Country of them; so she might 'have her Life granted: For the reason of her Knowledge, she 'said, *That they had a secret mark all of that sort in their Eyes, where-* '*by she could surely tell, how soon she looked upon any, whether they* '*were Witches or not*; and in this she was so readily believed, that 'for the space of 3 or 4 Months she was carried from Town to 'Town to make Discoveries in that kind; many were brought 'in question by her Delations, especially at *Glasgow*, where *di-* '*vers Innocent Women, through the Credulity of the Minister Mr.* John 'Cowper, *were condemned and put to Death*; in the end she was found 'to be a meer deceiver, and sent back to *Fife*, where she was first 'apprehended: At her Tryal she affirmed all to be false that she 'had confessed of herself or others, and persisted in this to her 'Death, which made many fore-think their too great forwardness 'that way, and moved the King to recal his Commission given out 'against such Persons, discharging all Proceedings against them,

'except in case of a voluntary Confession, till a solid Order should 'be taken by the Estates touching the form that should be kept in 'their Tryal. Thus that famous Historian.

2. *If two credible Persons shall affirm upon Oath that they have seen the party accused speaking such words, or doing things which none but such as have Familiarity with the Devil ever did or can do, that's a sufficient Ground for Conviction.*

Some are ready to say, that Wizzards are not so unwise as to do such things in the sight or hearing of others, but it is certain that they have very often been known to do so: How often have they been seen by others using Inchantments? Conjuring to raise Storms? And have been heard calling upon their Familiar Spirits? And have been known to use Spells and Charms? And to shew in a Glass or in a Shew-stone persons absent? And to reveal Secrets which could not be discovered but by the Devil? And have not men been seen to do things which are above humane Strength, that no man living could do without Diabolical Assistances? *Claudia* was seen by Witnesses enough, to draw a Ship which no humane Strength could move. *Tuccia* a Vestal Virgin was seen to carry Water in a a Sieve: The Devil never assists men to do supernatural things undesired. When therefore such like things shall be testified against the accused Party not by *Spectres* which are Devils in the Shape of Persons either living or dead, but by real men or women who may be credited; it is proof enough that such an one has that Conversation and Correspondence with the Devil, as that he or she, whoever they be, ought to be exterminated from amongst men. This notwithstanding I will add; It were better that ten suspected Witches should escape, than that one innocent Person should be Condemned; that is an old saying, and true, *Prestat reum nocentem absolvi, quam ex prohibitis Indiciis & illegitima probatione condemnari.* It is better that a Guilty Person should be Absolved, than that he should without sufficient ground of Conviction be condemned. I had rather judge a Witch to be an honest woman, than judge an honest woman as a Witch. The word of God directs men not to proceed to the execution of the most capital offenders, until such time as upon searching diligently, the matter is *found to be a Truth, and the thing certain*, Deut. 13.14, 15.

(*t*) Mr. *Morden* in his Geogra. Phy. p. 577.

An Acquaintance(*p*) of mine at *London*, in his description of *New-England* declares, that as to their Religion, the people there are like Mr. *Perkins*; it is no dishonour to us, if that be found true: I am sorry that any amongst us begin to slight so great a Man, whom the

the moſt (q) Learned in Forreign Lands, ſpeak of with Admiration, on the account of his polite and acute Judgment: It is a grave and good Advice which he giveth in his Diſcourſe of Witchcrafts (Chap. 7. Sect. 2.) wherewith I conclude; 'I would therefore wiſh and adviſe all Jurors who give their Verdict upon Life and Death in the Court of Aſſizes, to take good heed, that as they be diligent in zeal of God's glory, and the good of his Church, in detecting of Witches, by all ſufficient and lawful means, ſo likewiſe they would be careful what they do, and not to condemn any party ſuſpected upon bare Preſumptions, without ſound and ſufficient Proofs that they be not guilty through their own Raſhneſs of ſhedding Innocent Blood.

Boſton, New-England, Octob. 3. 1692.

(q) Voetius Biblioth. l. 2. Lecus in Compend. Hiſtor.

The Contents.

The firſt Caſe propoſed, whether not may Satan appear in the Shape of an Innocent and Pious, as well as of a Nocent and Wicked Perſon, to afflict ſuch as ſuffer by Diabolical Moleſtation?

The Affirmitive proved from ſix Arguments.

1. *From ſeveral Scriptures.* Pag. 1.

2. *Becauſe it is poſſible for the Devil in the Shape of Innocent Perſons to do other Miſchiefs, proved by many Inſtances.* p. 6.

3. *Becauſe if Satan may not repreſent an Innocent Perſon as afflicting others, it muſt be either becauſe he wants will or power to do this, or becauſe God will never permit him ſo to do it; either of which may be affirmed.* p. 8.

4. *It is certain both from Scripture and Hiſtory, that Magicians by their Inchantments and Helliſh Conjurations may cauſe a falſe Repreſentation of Perſons and Things.* p. 12.

5. *From the concurring Judgment of many Learned and Judicous Men.* p. 16.

6. *Our own Experience has confirmed the Truth of what we affirm.* p. 18.

The Second Caſe conſidered, viz. *if one bewitched be caſt down with the look or caſt of the Eye of another Perſon, and after that recovered again by a Touch from the ſame Perſon, is not this an infallible Proof that the party accuſed and complained of is in Covenant with the Devil?* p. 23.

Anſw. *This may be Ground of Suſpicion and Examination, but not of Conviction.* p. 24.

The Judgment of Mr. Bernard *and of Dr.* Cotta *produced.* p. 25, 27.

The CONTENTS.

Several things offered against the Infallibility of this Proof.

1. *'Tis possible that the persons in question may be possessed with Evil Spirits. Signs of such.* Pag. 22.

2. *Falling down with the cast of the Eye proceeds not from a natural but an arbitrary Cause.* p. 23.

3. *That of the bewitched Persons being recovered with a Touch is various and fallible.* p. 24.

4. *There are that question the Lawfulness of the Experiment.* p. 25.

5. *The Testimony of bewitched or possessed Persons is no Evidence as to what they see concerning others, and therefore not as to themselves.* p. 27.

6. *Bewitched Persons have sometimes been struck down with the Look of Dogs,* ibid.

7. *If this were an infallible proof, there would be difficulty in discovering Witches.*

8. *Nothing can be produced out of the Word of God to shew, that this is any proof of Witchraft,* p. 28.

9. *Antipathies in nature have strange and unaccountable effects.*

The Third Case considered, whether there are any Discoveries of Witchcraft, which Jurors and Judges may with a safe Conscience proceed upon to the Conviction and Condemnation of the persons under Suspicion, p. 51.

Two things premised,

1. *That the Evidence in the Crime of Witchraft ought to be as clear as in any other Crimes of a Capital nature,* p. 29.

2. *That there have been ways of Trying Witches long used, which God never approved of. More particularly that of casting the suspected Party into the Water, to try whether they will Sink or Swim. The Vanity and great Sin which is in that way of Purgation evinced by six Reasons,* p. 29, *to* 30.

That there are proofs for the Conviction of Witches, which Jurors may with a safe Conscience proceed upon, proved from Scripture, p. 33.

That a free and voluntary Confession is a sufficient ground of Conviction, p. 34.

That the Testimony of confessing Witches against others, is not so clear an Evidence as against themselves, p. 35.

That if two Credible Persons shall affirm upon Oath that they have seen the Person accused doing things, which none but such as have familiarity with the Devil, ever did or can do, that's a sufficient ground of Conviction: And that this has often happened, p. 38.

Mr. Perkins *his Solemn Caution to Jurors,* p. 39.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Deſign of the preceding *Diſſertation*, is not to plead for Witchcrafts, or to appear as an Advocate for Witches: I have therefore written another Diſcourſe, proving that there are ſuch horrid Creatures as Witches in the World; and that they are to be extirpated and cut off from amongſt the People of God, which I have Thoughts and Inclinations in due time to publiſh; and I am abundantly ſatisfied that there have been, and are ſtill moſt curſed Witches in the Land. More then one or two of thoſe now in Priſon, have freely and credibly acknowledged their Communion and Familiarity with the Spirits of Darkneſs; and have alſo declared unto me the Time and Occaſion, with the particular Circumſtances of their Helliſh Obligations and Abominations.

Nor is there deſigned any Reflection on thoſe worthy Perſons who have been concerned in the late Proceedings at *Salam*: They are wiſe and good Men, and have acted with all Fidelity according to their Light, and have out of tenderneſs declined the doing of ſome things, which in our own Judgments they were ſatisfied about: Having therefore ſo arduous a Caſe before them, Pitty and Prayers rather than Cenſures are their due; on which account I am glad that there is publiſhed to the World (by my Son) a *Breviate of the Tryals* of ſome who were lately executed, whereby I hope the thinking part of Mankind will be ſatisfied, that there was more than that which is called *Spectre Evidence* for the Conviction of the Perſons condemned. I was not my ſelf preſent at any of the Tryals, excepting one, *viz.* that of *George Burroughs*; had I been one of his Judges, I could not have acquitted him: For ſeveral Perſons did upon Oath teſtifie, that they ſaw him do ſuch things as no Man that has not a Devil to be his Familiar could perform: And the Judges affirm, that they have not convicted any one meerly on the account of what *Spectres* have ſaid, or of what has been repreſented to the Eyes or Imaginations of the ſick bewitched Perſons. If what is here expoſed to publick view, may be a means to prevent it for the future, I ſhall not repent of my Labour in this Undertaking. I have been prevailed with ſo far as I am

able

able to discern the Truth in these dark Cases, to declare my Sentiments, with the Arguments which are of weight with me, hoping that what is written may be of some use to discover the *Depths of Satan*; and to prevent innocent ones having their Lives endangered, or their Reputations ruined, by being through the Subtilty and Power of the Devils, in consideration with the Ignorance and Weakness of Men, involved amongst the Guilty. It becomes those of my Profession to be very tender in Cases of Blood, and to imitate our Lord and Master, *Who came not to destroy the Lives of Men, but to save them.*

I likewise design in what I have written, to give my testimony against these unjustifiable ways of discovering Witchcrafts, which some among us have practiced. I hear that of late there was a *Witch-cake* made with the Urine of bewitched Creatures, as one Ingredient by several Persons in a place, which has suffered much by the Attack of Hell upon it: This I take to be not only wicked Superstition, but great Folly: For tho' the Devil does sometimes operate with the *Experiments*, yet not always, especially if a *Magical Faith* be wanting. I shall here take occasion to recite some Passages in a Letter, which I received from that Eminent pious and learned Man, Mr. *Samuel Cradock*; during my abode in *London*; the Letter bears date *Febr.* 26. 1690. Then take it in his own Words, which are these; 'We have at this present one in our 'next Town, who has a Son who has strange Fits, and such as 'they impute to Witchcraft: He come to consult with me about 'it, but before he came, he had used a means which I should 'never have directed him unto, *viz.* He took the Nails of his 'Son's Hands and Feet, and some of his Hair, and mixed them in 'Rye-paste with his Water, and so set it all by the Fire till it was 'consumed, and his Son (as he says) was well after, and free from 'his Fits for a whole Month, but then they came again, and *He 'tried that means a second time, and then it would not do*; He re-'moved his Son into *Cambridgeshire* the next County, and then he 'was well, but as soon as he brought him home he was afflicted as 'before. The Boy says, He saw a thing like a Mole following of him, which once spoke to him, and told him he came 'to do the Office he was to do: I advised his Father to make use 'of the Medicine prescribed by our Saviour, *viz.* Fasting and 'Prayer. Here have been others in this Town, that though they 'were under *Ill-handling* as they call it: One Family had their 'Milk so affected, that they could not possibly make any Cheese,

'but

'but it hov'd and ſwelled, and was good for nothing: They are 'now rid of that trouble, but how they got rid of it I do not know: Thus my Letter. By which it is evident that Towns in *England* as well as *New-England* are moleſted with *Dæmons*, only I wiſh that the Superſtitions practiced in other places to get rid of ſuch troubleſome Gueſts had never been known, much leſs uſed amongſt us or them.

Some I hear have taken up a Notion, that the Book newly publiſhed by my Son, is contradictory to this of mine: 'Tis ſtrange that ſuch Imaginations ſhould enter into the Minds of Men: I peruſed and approved of that Book before it was printed; and nothing but my Relation to him hindred me from recommending it to the World: But my ſelf and Son agreed unto the humble Advice which twelve Miniſters concurringly preſented before his Excellency and Council, reſpecting the preſent Difficulties, which let the World judge, whether there be any thing in its diſſentany from what is atteſted by either of us.

It was in the Words following:

The Return of ſeveral Miniſters conſulted by his Excellency, and the Honourable Council, upon the preſent Witchcrafts in *Salem* Village.

Boſton, *June* 15. 1692.

I. *THE afflicted State of our poor Neighbours, that are now ſuffering by Moleſtations from the Inviſible World, we apprehend ſo deplorable, that we think their Condition calls for the utmoſt help of all Perſons in their ſeveral Capacities.* II. *We cannot but with all Thankfulneſs acknowledge, the Succeſs which the merciful God has given unto the ſedulous and aſſiduous Endeavors of our honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; humbly praying that the diſcovery of theſe myſterious and miſchievous Wickedneſſes, may be perfected.* III. *We judge that in the proſecution of theſe, and all ſuch Witchcrafts, there is need of a very critical and exquiſite Caution, leſt by too much Credulity for things received only upon the Devil's Authority, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miſerable Conſequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us, for we ſhould not be ignorant of his Devices.* IV. *As in Complaints upon Witchcrafts, there may be Matters of Enquiry, which do not amount unto Matters of Preſumption, and there may be Matters of Preſumption which yet may not be reckoned Matters of* Conviction; *ſo 'tis neceſſary that all Proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding*

tender-

tenderneſs towards thoſe that may be complained of; eſpecially if they have been Perſons formerly of an unblemiſhed Reputation. V. *When the firſt Enquiry is made into the Circumſtances of ſuch as may lie under any juſt Suſpicion of Witchcrafts, we could wiſh that there may be admitted as little as is poſſible, of ſuch Noiſe, Company, and Openneſs, as may too haſtily expoſe them that are examined: and that there may nothing be uſed as a Teſt, for the Trial of the ſuſpected, the Lawfulneſs whereof may be doubted among the People of God; but that the Directions given by ſuch Judicious Writers as* Perkins *and* Bernard, *be conſulted in ſuch a Caſe.* VI. *Preſumptions whereupon Perſons may be committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Perſons may be condemned as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more conſiderable, than barely the accuſed Perſons being repreſented by a Spectre unto the Afflicted; inaſmuch as 'tis an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a Dæmon may, by God's Permiſſion, appear even to ill purpoſes, in the Shape of an innocent, yea, and a vertuous Man: Nor can we eſteem Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a Look or Touch of the Accuſed to be an infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abuſed by the Devil's Legerdemains.* VII. *We know not, whether ſome remarkable Affronts given to the Devils, by our disbelieving of thoſe Teſtimonies, whoſe whole force and ſtrength is from them alone, may not put a Period, unto the Progreſs of the dreadful Calamity begun upon us, in the Accuſation of ſo many Perſons, whereof we hope, ſome are yet clear from the great Tranſgreſſion laid unto their Charge.* VIII. *Nevertheleſs, We cannot but humbly recommend unto the Government, the ſpeedy and vigorous Proſecution of ſuch as have rendred themſelves obnoxious, according to the Direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholeſome Statutes of the* Engliſh *Nation, for the Detection of Witchcrafts.*

FINIS.